●614 The clan (umulyango) (4) or inzu includes all those who claim

4. Not to be confused with umúlyango, "door."

a common ancestor who is founder of the [9] race. In the course of time the clan has become divided into several subclans (imilyango).

The clan and the subclan have names (ubgoko) that recall the name of the founder. Thus the members of the umulyango of the Abanyiginya are the descendants of Kimanuka who is the Umunyiginya (the first of the Abanyiginya). Ndabarasa, son of the Mwami Rujugira Chyirima, who became king under the name of Kigeri, was the Umurabarasa, the first of the umulyango of the Abarabarasa or Ibigina. This last name is what they are called at the present time.

614 775 Each umulyango possesses one or several animal totems (ibiziro). For example, the totems of the Abanyiginya are the crested crane (umusambi) and the ox-pecker (inyange); that of the Abega is the toad (igikeri); that of the Abagessera is the wagtail (inyamanza). The member of a clan will never kill such a bird, for example, because he believes that it contains the spirit of an ancestor.

614 563 The Bahutu belong to the same umulyango as the Batutsi and possess the same totems. However, they have a different name. For example, those who live with the Abega and the Abanyiginya are called respectively Abasavere and Abasindi.

2. The Head of the Family and of the Clan

596 The head of the family sensu stricto (umutware w'urago rwa se, lit., the head of his father's rugo) is normally the father. After his death, one of his sons, not necessarily the eldest, succeeds him. It may happen that the widow of the family head provisionally directs the rugo if her husband has died without designating his successor or when his sons are still children (1). [10]

614

1. While still forming part of her [own] umulyango, the wife is, so to speak, incorporated into her husband's inzu if she has children. But she does not take the name of her husband's umulyango. The

614 wife always remains a stranger to her husband's clan and keeps her own totem.

596 614 The umutware w'urugo rwa se is only slightly important and this word is seldom used. More important is the umutware w'urugo rwa bo (lit., of them), also called umutware w'umulyango, who has command both of his rugo and the umulyango.

614 The umulyango is a social entity without any political value. Thus Rwabutogo, chief of the umulyango of the Abega, owns only the province of East Buganza. In matters of family and cattle he commands Rwagatakara, who in turn commands Rwabusisi, chief of Buliza and South Buganza.

614 689 425 The umutware w'umulyango exercises a paternal jurisdiction over all the members of his group. If they disobey him seriously he can drive them out and seize their cattle (indemano, inkazibiti) except for the animals they have received as a gift from the king (ingabane) (1). However, it is the Mwami who has the right of

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 42.

[166] eviction. In addition, if the king sees that an injustice has been committed, he authorizes the one who has been the victim to settle elsewhere so as to remove himself from the jurisdiction of the chief of the umulyango, without however ceasing to belong to the clan. If the Mwami asks the umulundo (2) from the chief of the umulyango,

2. That is to say, lit., "wishes to see the cattle of his cattle." He takes only one or two animals.

the latter can in turn claim some inyiturano (3) from his family. On

3. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 43.

the other hand, the chief of the umulyango can show his favor to those of his relatives with whom he is satisfied by giving them some ingabane.

3. Laws of the Family and the Clan

614 1. It is forbidden to marry a person belonging to the same umulyango, whatever the degree [of relationship]. Only the Abanyiginya, the clan from which the kings come, may marry [11] within their [own] inzu (1) and a fortiori into the other imilyango.

1. The reason for this endogamy must be sought in the fact that, according to legend, Kigwa married his sister Nyampundu.

However, marriage is forbidden with the Abatshyaba, the Abungura, and the Abakomankali. They usually marry the Abega.

The Abega (the family providing the queens), the Abagessera, the Abakono, the Abaha, and the Abasinga may not marry within their [own] umulyango nor into the other inzu. They are allowed to marry the Abunguru and Abakomankali, but not the Abatshyaba.

[426] [672] 2. The active and passive solidarity [joint and separate liability] in the matter of debts exists only on the paternal side (iwabo wa se) and not in the mother's umulyango (iwabo wa nyina).

The same is true in penal matters unless it is a case of a blood debt.

4. Table of Names Indicating Relationship through Kinship and Marriage

601 Those who are members of the same umulyango are called abagil'ichyobahuriycho, abagil' ichyobapfana, or, and it is the most frequently used and most precise term, abafit'isano.

Husband: umugabo
Wife: umugore
The husband of two wives: umugabo z'ishyali
One of the wives speaking of the other: umukeba wa njye
The husband speaking of one or the other [of the wives]: umukeba we

Son:
1) When the mother speaks: umuhungu wa njye
2) When another wife of the father speaks: umuhungu wa mukeba wa njye or umuhungu w'umugabo wa njye

[763] Usually, feeling his end to be near, the father calls the chief
596 of the umulyango and two friends. He dictates to them his last wishes.
428 The wives of a polygamous man do not hesitate to intrigue in favor of their sons and attempt to circumvent their husband -- or even his brother -- using both their charms and their most subtle arguments. The situation is the same in the case of successive marriages.

It is easily understood that often the other sons, especially if they are of different mothers, feel themselves wronged, rightly or wrongly.
[691] But they are given the opportunity of demanding justice from the Mwami, the provincial chief, or the hill chief, according to whether they are sons of umutware w'intebe, of igisonga, or simple Batutsi or Bahutu. These authorities will ratify the choice made by the father or the uncle, or else will decide what other young man will succeed his father.

If there is no male descendant, the high position of head of the family falls on the oldest brother of the deceased. In this case, the heir will be both head of his rugo and of his brother's.

[614] He may also be, at the same time, chief of the umulyango, that is to say, of the clan. This is the umutware w'umulyango (or the umutware rwa bo).

If all the brothers have disappeared, their sons inherit by right of primogeniture. [62]

If the deceased has neither sons, nor brothers, nor nephews in his line, his father will succeed him, or in his absence, the father's brother or one of his male descendants by right of primogeniture.

The Bahutu and the Batwa have their own umutware w'urugo. But they are dependent on the same umulyango chief as the Batutsi.

3. Composition of the Inheritance

428 In addition to the high position of head of the family, the inheritance includes:

1) The heavy cattle
2) The clients (abagaragu)
3) Particularly among the Bahutu, the goats and sheep
4) Landed property (1)
5) Movables, personal property (1)

1. Cf. Property, Property in General, p. 34.

278

believe that this potion will kill whoever does not speak the truth or reveals a state secret (cf. also Procedure, pp. 104 and 105).

766 dared reveal what he had seen.

The summit of Rutare Hill is crowned with trees, [96] the remains of an ancient forest. The cemetery of the kings and queens can be found there. The abanyamugogo build a hut there, dig a grave, and bury the king and his weapons in it. The hut is closed with beams and surrounded by a thorny enclosure to keep wild ani-
[767] mals out. Quite near-by, the watchers build themselves dwellings where they live for two years and are fed during this time by the people of the neighborhood. Then they return home after going through Nyanza where they are showered with gifts. But the Mwami may not see them for he would die during the year if he caught sight of those who have watched over and carried his father's body. For the same reason the abiru who have accompanied them to Rutare may never return to the court of Nyanza. The belief also exists that from
[825] the right shoulder of the dead Mwami there issues a worm (urunyo) which, if placed in a pitcher of milk, will grow and become a leopard that kills only those who are wicked and unjust.

When the Mwami dies all work stops for eight days. For two months the bulls are removed from the herds and the king's children may not have any marital relations. Although they are under no obligation to do so, the Banyarwanda behave in the same way.

The death of the Umugabekazi [king's mother] calls for the same ceremonies and the same interdictions, but they are somewhat simplified.

9. Succession to the Throne

643 The king of Ruanda always belongs to the family of the
● [614] Abanyiginya. His wives (1) are mostly chosen from the clans of the
[644]

1. The king may have four legitimate wives whose children are the only ones who, in theory, can succeed him; he can have as many concubines as he wishes.

Abega and the Abakono.

644 to the royal court because, due to some suspicion or other, the king wants to have them near him and under his supervision.

635 In Urundi these provincial governors are almost without
565 exception members of the royal family (abaganwa) or of one of the kin groups of the high Bahima nobility related to the king by marriage (see pp. 91, 101 also p. 182 of original text [not translated]). However, in the subdistricts of the provinces
634 ordinary Batussi are appointed as government officials (abatware or batwale). Sometimes, especially in the southeast, there are also Bahutu serving as batwale. This office is hereditary within the appointed families, but the king may annul the succession by inheritance of a son after the death of a mutwale. Also, he may appoint a new mutwale any time he pleases (No. 19, p. 267).

631 The same organization of officialdom also exists in
614 Ruanda. Similarly, in Ankole the entire country is divided
[635] among nine governors or high batwale responsible to the king. There they carry the title Bakungu and are all members of the royal clan, [89] Abahinda. Each Mukungu has several district
[634] chiefs under him. However, these are all representatives of Bahima clans and each of them is elected by his clan which means that he is the eldest of the clan. These men have petty jurisdiction over their clan members, while disputes between different clans are decided by the Mukungu. The office of
[635] Mukungu is hereditary. (No. 27, p. 98.)

643 In Urundi, however, the monarchy is not, or not yet, as
614 well founded as in Ruanda (King Musinga). The cause for this may be found, above all, in the much stronger spirit of independence of the Barundi and in the still very strong clan organization of the Batussi and the Bahutu. However, the kings of Urundi and their powerful kin group, the Baganwa clan, have managed in the last two decades to have almost all the clan elders in the country, who formerly had a free hand, replaced by officials and vassals of the king who back up his absolute power.

643 person of one vassal. This simplifies the administration con-
631 siderably. Often, however, the vassal is vested with the tenure
423 of the mountain and the Bahutu who live there as his bondsmen, but he does not receive at the same time all the privileges; another Mutussi may receive the war fief on the same mountain, i.e., he may have the duty of assembling the local men in case of war, or a third Mutussi on this mountain may be in charge of dividing up the grazing land, etc. [90] The object and result of this organization is to make each of the holders of these privileges jealously watch over the others and to insure that the king keeps the reins of power firmly in his hands.

634 The mutwale who has been vested with a fief is, however,
614 the ruler of the Bahutu and Batwa in his feudal domain. He determines the work load of his people and has jurisdiction over ordinary affairs. However, the position of the people under him is not at all like slavery. They enjoy a considerable amount of freedom and are entitled to certain privileges. In addition
[628] they always have as support their kin group, their clan, which can be depended upon to take secret, bloody revenge for any real acts of violence on the part of the batwale or any other person. It is a kind of Vehmic organization which is respected even by the most powerful Batussi batwale. Also, each Muhutu is entitled to leave his feudal lord if the latter maltreats him and to look for a new master. However, since the reputation
[554] and wealth of each Mutussi depends chiefly on how many people he has, it is in his own interests to see to it that his people do not leave him as a result of maltreatment.

662 The king always surrounds the high vassals and batwale with spies in order not to allow them to become too independent. Beyond that, however, jealousy and envy are powerful motives for each mutwale to exercise a check on his neighbor. Naturally intrigue and incrimination are widespread. If a case of dis-
687 loyalty or high treason is reported to the king and is discovered to be well-founded, royal justice acts quickly with spear and poison. Nevertheless, several grand batwale have managed to
63 attain a large degree of independence in the course of time. This is particularly true of those living in the exposed border

3. Clans, Exogamy, Totemism

614 In addition to the social stratification resulting from the different ethnic strata of the population with the Bahima conquerors, Batussi, as the upper class, there is in the entire interlacustrine region a subordinate social structure determined by kin groups or clans consisting of blood relatives. Depending on their nature, there are clans of Batussi, of Bahutu, and of Batwa. As a group of families related by blood, the clan is the basis of the entire social organization of both Ruanda and of Urundi, and also of Karagwe, Kisiba, Ankole, etc., while the political state is organized on the feudal system. Unfortunately, we 614 know very little about the clans of the Barundi since my pre- 114 decessors have given little attention to this institution and since the natives are reluctant to give information about these con- [551] ditions, more from fear of the evil results of mentioning names than from their religious concepts (see p. 111, 112). These things are much clearer in Ruanda where Czekanowski, assisted by the missionaries and Christianized natives, was able to obtain much interesting information about the clan structure (No. 48, Chap. 11). What I am able to convey below I owe -- except for my own findings in the field -- to information received from Capt. von Langenn-Steinkeller and Father van der Burgt.

"In his Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi, van der Burgt refers to a few privileged Batussi families from whom the kings customarily choose their wives (see pp. 99, 101, also p. 182 of original text [not translated]), but he fails to mention anything about an organization of the entire population into clans which is of decisive legal, social, and political importance. In reply to my direct inquiry, Father van der Burgt sent me the following information: "Formerly I held the belief for a long time that no clan organization at all existed in Urundi. Both in Unjamwesi and in Kisiba (No. 31, p. 5) one always hears people speak of their luganda (families, cognatio) and their kisse (pl., visse), i.e., clan; for example, whenever one asks a woman for her name, she first gives the name of her clan, e.g., "I am a Magana" or a "Njamurega" or a "Kundwa," etc. In central

614 114 Urundi, however, I only once heard a woman say that she was a Magana. Thus, I would say that clan organization is not as pronounced in Urundi as it is in Unjamwesi, Ussuwi, Kisiba, etc. In Kirundi I am not familiar with a word like the Usámbiro "kisse" [99] but the Warundi often speak of their "umurjango" which also means kin group, clan. However, in Ruanda clan organization seems to be well developed. In northern Urundi (Mariensee Mission) where there are many Wanjakissaka immigrants, they often speak of their clans, but this does not apply to the Warundi who live there.

"Whether there are few or many such clans in Urundi I do not know. I discovered the names listed below, but I cannot guarantee that they are genuine Urundi clan names. I rather think that they originate from the periphery of the country: Wajango, Wamagana, Wassindi, Waschambo, Wasinga, Wajambo (Wanjambo), Wasigawa (Wasigaba), and others. Incidentally, although the population is divided into clans, the members live all over the area without rule or restraint, i.e., not localized."

Van der Burgt further lists (see p. 183 [not translated]) the Wakundo, Warwanda (Wawanda, Babanda?), Wenengwe, Wanjakarama, Wasigaba, and Waterwa (Watoirwa?) as the families closest to the royal family. On the other hand, Capt. v. Langenn informs me that the Batussi families of the highest rank are the Banjakarama, Benengwe, Banjakissaka, Baschunguka, and Boschoka, after which there follows a second series of families, also very distinguished, the Bawanda, Bahondogo, Bassawu, Bawejuru, Baschama, Bega, Bawankundu, Babile, Basindakire, and others. A few of these family names, like the Bega, the Bawanda, the Bakundo, and the Baschama, were repeatedly mentioned to me in Urundi, and in addition the Baschambo, Basito, Bagessera, Bakango, Balenge, Baransi, Balesi, Bakono, Basseke, Bassabu, Bajosi, and Barire.

If we compare these names with the family names listed by Czekanowski in his clan tables from Unjoro, Toro, Ankole, Mpororð, Kjamtwara, Kisiba, and Ruanda (No. 48, pp. 41, 88, 233-251) and with those mentioned by Kandt, van der Burgt, van Thiel,

614 Stuhlmann, P. Schumacher, Meldon, Roscoe, Rehse, and
114 others, we rediscover over half of the Barundi names also in these lands, especially in Ruanda. This indicates the direction of the closest relationship to the Barundi families. According to legend, the Basinga, Bagessera, and Basigaba are the oldest kin groups there (see p. 153 [not translated]). Probably these clans of Urundi and the northern Bahima states which have the same name are mere offshoots of one original clan which split up as the result of a large increase in numbers or from being harrassed by war and spread over the area by migration. Throughout Urundi, Ruanda, and the northern areas of the interlacustrine region, the Bawanda, Bega, Bakango, Baschambo, Bagaia, Basindi, Basinga, Basito, Bajango, Basigaba, Bajubu, and others are most widely dispersed, while the Bahondogo, Bassabu, Baschunguka, Babile, Basindakire, Barire, and Basseke seem to be restricted to Urundi, although future investigators may discover them in other areas. Perhaps their blood relatives and namesakes may be found father south and west, rather than in the north.

614 The majority of the clans listed above are those of the Batussi, but the Bamagana, Bajango, Basseke, Basjubu, Barire, and others are Bahutu. In addition to this, there are numerous Batwa clans whose names, however, I was unable to ascertain. Some clan names refer both to Batussi and to Bahutu clans. In fact, a few, as, for example, the Bagessera and Basinga, even refer to Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa clans. It appears that the type of clan structure, the internal organization and the hierarchy of the clans, their social role, and their mutual legal relationships among the Batussi differ essentially in only a few characteristics from those of the Bahutu and the Batwa, namely, in those institutions and rules whose aim is to keep the Batussi blood pure and to maintain the exclusive position of their race and thus its authority. [100] Remnants of earlier endogamy still exist among them (see p. 101), while otherwise the clans are strictly exogamous. Probably the Batussi adopted the clan organization of the older ethnic elements in Urundi, just as they adopted many

614 other customs and institutions from them. However, the Batussi have contributed to a considerable extent in further reducing the importance of the old clan system. For the stronger the monarchy became and the more power and privileges the batwale who had been appointed by the king and the independent Batussi chiefs demanded and enjoyed, the less they could tolerate the continued existence of the authority of the former clan heads or clan elders and the more they suppressed and reduced the clan privileges still existing and replaced them by the administrative organization of the growing Batussi feudal state. In Ruanda, which is under strict monarchical rule, the activity of the clans in law and social affairs has been to a greater extent suppressed and restricted. Even in Urundi where the monarchy is not as strong and the state is more differentiated, the clans have had to hand over to the king and to the chiefs most of their former privileges, and they have lost their solidarity. In spite of all this, the clans continue to exist as a natural organization of the people alongside the artificial one of the state. Not only have they preserved in their organization and customs quite a number of traditions from earlier times, but they also carry on many activities stemming from their organization which have general social significance and effects. This is true particularly of functions relating to family law.

The chief characteristics of clan organization have remained the same as in earlier times: the patriarchal nature of the organization; the exogamy of the clans among each other; the totemistic peculiarity of each clan and, connected with this, the injunctions and taboos (abasiru) affecting the members, especially food taboos. These clearly separate the clans from each other. Further, there is the communalism of the clan members and the protection of the members of the kin group by their clan, by vendetta if necessary. Even under Batussi rule, this acts as a restraining influence against acts of violence by Batussi officials.

Let us briefly review the chief points as they were sketched by Czekanowski for Ruanda. Each clan recruits its members by

614 patriarchate, by patrilineal succession; each child belongs to the clan (umurjango) of its father from the day of its birth. Strangers may join the clan only in exceptional cases, but they do not enjoy full privileges. The greater the number of male members of the kin group, the stronger the clan is in its internal and external functions, the better will it protect and benefit the individual. This accounts for the fervent wish of each father of a family to have as many sons as possible and to bring them into his clan.

Marriages between the members of the same clan are forbidden. A clan member may choose his wife only from another clan. Strict exogamy is thus the rule. C. Meinhof traces the origin of this custom, which is particularly pronounced among the African Hamitic herdsmen, back to the fact that originally the wife belonged not just to a single man but rather to the whole kin group, to all clan associates of the man in common. In other words, the whole of the man's clan married the woman, and for this reason she had to be from another clan (No. 41, p. 84). Clear remnants of this kind of group marriage still persist among many of these Hamitic tribes and also among the Massai; it is customary for a husband to put his wife at the disposal of any clan member during the time of the latter's visit. [101] Also, the married wives are so easily accessible to the men of their clan that prostitution is almost nonexistent among these tribes. The concept of adultery is meaningful only with regard to illicit intercourse outside the clan. To a limited degree this is also true of the exogamous marriages of the Barundi (see p. 107). A member of a Batussi clan never enters into a completely valid marriage with a member of a Bahutu or a Batwa clan, and there never occur wholly valid mixed marriages between members of Bahutu and Batwa clans. The racial distinctions among the three large population groups are stronger than the rules regarding exogamy. It is true that Batussi may frequently be found in Bahutu clans and Bahutu in Batussi clans, but these are either offspring from concubinage with Bahutu women or from other liaisons with inferiors through special circumstances, and they are not regarded as fully valid clan members.

563 614

614 It appears, however, that the exogamy of the clans is not entirely unrestricted. It seems that members of a Batussi clan cannot enter into marriage with the members of all other Batussi clans, nor can the members of a Bahutu clan marry the members of any other Bahutu clan. It seems rather that the member of a clan is restricted in his choice of a wife or husband to a certain number of other clans, most probably to those having the same totem (umusiru). As among other peoples practicing totemistic exogamy, marriages may originally have taken place between old totemic cult groups founded upon animistic concepts (No. 43, p. 162). It appears that in this case also marriages are restricted to clans which have the same totem or belong to totem groups which entertain friendly relations with each other. Among other East African tribes, for example, among the Wagogo [Gogo], Wahehe, Bafipa, Banjoro, and Baganda, marriage is at least not excluded if the partners have the same totem (No. 49, p. 164). In any case it is not the identity of the totem but only the membership in the same kin group, i.e., consanguinity, which is the determining element in exogamy. Evidently exogamous and totemic groups have different origins even where they coincide (No. 49, p. 166).

614 171 In the rest of East Africa exogamous, totemic clans exist among the Sulu [Zulu] (No. 30, Vol. II, p. 380), the Wangoni (395), Wagogo (402), Wahehe (404), Waheia [Haya] (406), Wayao [Yao], Makua, Makonde (406), Massai (408), Watakomba (420), Nandi, Suk, Turkana, Karamojo, Kamasia [Kamasya] (426), Wakawirondo [Kavirondo] (448), Basoga (457), Baganda (472), Banjoro (513), Batoro [Toro] (531), Banjankole (535), Galla (540), Basiba (No. 31, pp. 5-6), Bafipa (No. 47, pp. 131-135), Wakamba [Kamba], Wataweta [Taveta], Wakikuyu [Kikuyu], Wabena [Bena], Wanjamwesi, Wasukuma, [Sukuma], Wasango [Sango], Wawemba, and others (No. 49, pp. 122-124). If among these tribes the clans are not exogamous -- as among the Wahehe and the Massai -- the subclans into which the clans are divided practice exogamy. Often there are four clans and

614 171 almost everywhere the totem is called musiro or umusiru (pl., abasiru).

614 643 In Urundi only the royal kin group, the Baganwa clan, is not strictly bound by the rules of exogamy. Its members may marry members of other clans of the high Batussi nobility (exogamy), or they may marry other Baganwa (endogamy). The king of Urundi himself always practices exogamy and marries into one of the four (or six?) highest clans (pp. 99, also p. 182 of original text [not translated]). Under exceptional circumstances the king in both Urundi and Ruanda may, or must, as the case may be marry even his own sister or daughter (see p. 182 [not translated]).

614 643 171 Among the Bahima of Ankole, Unjoro, Ufipa, among the Baganda and the Galla or Oromo, the kings and princes of royal blood may practice endogamy within the royal kin group and may even marry their own sisters while all the other clans are exogamous (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 523, 538, 541; No. 27, p. 105; No. 47, pp. 49, 132; Emin Bey, Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications], 1879, p. 120).

[102] As an extreme form of endogamy, marriage with a sister is practiced in East Africa only in cases of emergency when the ruling dynasty is unable to preserve the purity of its blood by any other connection. It probably is or was practiced by the ruling families of other peoples past and present only if the dynasty, as, for example, the Bahima, came either as peaceful immigrants or as conquering invaders and originally formed an alien element which excluded any miscegenation with the subjugated group (No. 43, p. 150).

614 From the fact that there are always several clans with the same totem it may be concluded that these clans originally belonged to the same tribe which later split into two or more kin groups and clans as a result of growth while nevertheless keeping

614 the common totem. After separating, the clans took different names. Among the Bahima and Bahutu of East Africa, unlike the North American Indians, the totem name was not used as the name of the clan itself, but rather, as among the Australian aborigines, the names of the clan and the totem are different. However, the totem cult and its membership have been preserved even though in diluted form (cf. No. 43, pp. 142-143). In a few individual cases the names of the kin groups are identical with that of their totem, as among the Basoga, Basiba, and Banjoro, while the kin groups of the Baganda are named, without exception, after their totem (No. 49, p. 155).

Both in Urundi and in Ruanda the totem (umusiru) is still the cult object of the clan or the clan group, even if only in a passive or negative sense, in that everything connected with the totem must be strictly avoided by its clan. There is no active cult devoted to the totem either among the Barundi or among any other Bahima people (cf. also No. 47, pp. 133, 134 and No. 49, pp. 145, 147). Sacrificial offerings are occasionally made to them but that is all. Among most Rundi clans the totem is an animal or part of an animal. Much more rarely it is an object, as, for example, the small pillow with which burdens are carried on the head or the basket in which sweet potatoes are stored, even more rarely plants or parts of plants, flowers, and stones. The definite predominance of animal
614 totemism is probably related, as among all peoples organized
775 by totems, to the idea that the totem animal was originally
171 considered the "ancestral animal." Among the Barundi and Banjaruanda, however, this does not appear to indicate that the particular species of animals is regarded as the founder of the race or the tribal ancestor or ancestress of the particular clan, but rather that the soul of each clan member after his death enters an animal of this particular type. Evidently the belief in a relationship between the human kin group and the totem animal species does not include the concept of common descent from the same ancestral animal. Whenever a member of the kin group dies, this relationship is renewed by his soul entering an

614 775 171 animal of his totem species. In Central Africa many tribes of the northern Congo basin and of the western Sudan (No. 49, pp. 140-142) have the same belief.

614 Van der Burgt believes that the royal family of the Barundi has no totem (letter). According to other reports, however, their totem animal is probably the large python (see p. 118) which is also the "soul animal" of the kings; this also applies to the Basiba (No. 31, pp. 107, 130) and to the Baganda (No. 30, Vol. II, p. 500). According to the belief of the Banjankole, the souls of the kings enter into lions, those of the princes into snakes (No. 26, p. 151; No. 27, p. 102); among the Banjaruanda the souls of the kings enter into leopards."

[103] Thus, the belief in a relationship between clan members and the totem animal is one of the roots of totemism; the other is the same kind of animism that gives rise to awe and fear of the spirit of a dead person living in an animal or some other object and, in connection with this, brings about the cult of ancestors (cf. No. 49, p. 169). For this reason the totem animals are identical with the "soul animals" which are generally assumed to be the residence of human souls (see p. 118). In this case, too, these are characteristically animals, those which excel in great speed and agility and, thus, are suggestive of the vital breath, as, for example, the snake, lizard, certain fish and birds, the otter, weasel, duikerbok, long-tailed monkey, or those animals which have a sinister appearance or other terrifying characteristics, as, for example, the chameleon, the insect walking stick, leopard, buffalo, and hippopotamus. However, certain kinds of domestic animals, for example, black, white striped, or otherwise mottled cows or certain varieties of sheep may be chosen as totem animals by many clans. The veneration of cattle, which are neither used for work nor ordinarily butchered, would indicate that they were formerly the cult animal of the Bahima herdsmen, which to some extent is still true today. Some clans designate only liver, heart, and intestines of certain animals as totems. This custom is also found among many other Bahima and Bantu tribes. This is

614 probably done for a variety of reasons: partly because the original clan split up into several totem groups; partly because these organs of the animal body are most often regarded as containing the soul; partly for the practical reason of not wishing to forego the enjoyment of eating the meat of the entire animal. For a clan of herdsmen, it would have been impossible to select only cattle as their totem like, for instance, the hyena or the chameleon since the clan would have had to go hungry because of the taboo imposed by its totem.

614 784 262 For the clan member his clan totem, his umusiru, is an object of awe. It either inspires veneration as a member of an earlier generation of his kin group or it causes revulsion for other reasons. It is taboo to him, either because he regards it as sacrosanct due to its superior characteristics or because he regards it as impure due to its disagreeable characteristics. In their effect on the attitude of the clan member, these two emotions are the same. The umusiru is carefully avoided. Any injury or, what is worse, killing of a totem animal, any contact with or occupation connected with the totem or a part of the totem is considered an offense of which it is difficult to purge oneself. Eating its meat or drinking its blood or milk is prohibited. Out of this strict food taboo, there developed the now predominant attitude that meat, blood, milk, and other parts of an animal are impure and injurious to the health of the clan member. The impurity can only be eliminated by [783] means of elaborate ceremonies, and the umufumu (medicine man) determines the amount of the penance which depends on the seriousness of the case. Moreover, violations of the totem taboo, particularly of the food taboo, are automatically and magically punished by illness or even death for the offender (cf. No. 49, pp. 152, 153).

Since the members of other clans eat the meat of the totem animal of one clan, they are regarded as impure by this clan. Thus, the food taboos erect barriers between clans with different totems. For example, [104] if members of the clan of the Bawanda (Babanda), whose totem is the duikerbok, find

614 themselves together with members of the Baschama clan (totem
784 Klipdas or of the Bagessera clan (totem water wagtail), they
262 avoid physical contact with them and are not allowed to take their meals with them. The same is true in Ruanda. Moreover, the general prohibition against the Batussi eating with the Bahutu and the Batwa and against the Bahutu eating with the Batwa has totemistic bases aside from the racially determined caste spirit, if only because some Bahutu and Batwa occasionally eat goat meat and mutton which the Batussi abhor. Both in Urundi and Ruanda these totemistic food taboos do not affect the children (No. 48, p. 240), but women are bound by them.

614 B. Ankermann does not commit himself on the question
174 the age and origin of totemism in Africa, but he suggests
563 that the Hamites might be regarded as the carriers of totemism. In many tribes a nontotemistic lower class is ruled by a totemistic -- and Hamitic -- upper class. In Urundi and Ruanda both the lower class, the Bantu (Bahutu), and the ruling Hamitic upper class, the Batussi, are totemistic. Even the pygmoid indigenous inhabitants, the Batwa, are organized into totemistic, exogamous clans. For this reason and for others having to do with the fact that totemic culture is everywhere manifestly very ancient, I should prefer (as regards the Barundi and Banjaruanda)to subscribe to the view which Ankermann considers more probable, namely that the original Negroes from whom the Sudan Negroes and the Bantu originate, were totemistic (No. 49, pp. 176-178), and that where totemistic Negroes are ruled over by totemistic Hamites, as in Urundi and Ruanda, the Hamites have blended their own totemism which they brought with them with that of the conquered, just as they must have blended their own clan organization with that of the conquered Bantu (see p. 100).

614 In the internal organization and life of the clan the
621 strong feeling of solidarity among its members is evidenced above all by the considerable degree of communalism.

614 Wherever monarchy with its state organization has not yet
621 dissolved the clans and dispersed their members all over the various feudal districts of the Batussi state (see p. 89), wherever the clans have preserved the main elements of their ancient solidarity and autonomy, as is the case particularly in the more or less independent border provinces of Urundi (and Ruanda), the clans form small or large communities under an elected clan elder (umugabo). This is especially true of
614 the Bahutu clans that existed in the area before the period of
423 Batussi rule. The office of the umugabo is hereditary in
621 many cases. The central communalistic element in the organization of these clans is the communal ownership of the land occupied by the clan. The land belongs to the clan community probably because it was originally appropriated and cultivated by the clan. The individual clan members is merely entitled to the use of the land he cultivates or of the pasture where his cattle grazes. Only the hut built on this ground is the real property of the individual, in addition to the inventory of implements, tools, weapons, and the cattle he has raised from the herd with which he has been vested by his feudal lord (see p. 93).

614 E. Johanssen, a missionary who in 1907 founded the first
182 Protestant missionary stations of Dsinga and Kirinda in Ruanda
[114] and who is an eminent student of the Banjaruanda, makes the following comment on the social importance of the Ruanda clans: "These kin group organizations hand down the old customs and traditions from one generation to the next. In this way they preserve the national characteristics against intermixture and decay. The easier it is to loosen the ties of the family group in its narrowly defined sense as a result of polygamy and by the dissolution of marriage, the greater is the [105] importance of the stable, indissoluble, religiously determined kin group. The destruction of this group would cause the entire nation to disintegrate and to split up into isolated groups which would be exposed to any outside influence. There can be no doubt that the kin group, as the

614 182 vehicle of tradition and religious customs (totem, food taboos, sacrificial community), has been of great importance in sustaining the nation's life." (No. 39, p. 73.) This characterization also applies to the clans of the Barundi.

614 642 182 However, the Batussi monarchy is a most powerful enemy of the clan organization. The growing power of the Batussi kings has laid claim, as has been shown above, to all the land and cattle as the personal property of the king who parcels it out in larger or smaller portions as fiefs to his Batussi followers (see p. 89). The king's vassal, in turn, divides his fief into smaller portions with which he vests his people. The former clan elder is usually appointed mutwale of the king and collects the taxes and other tribute of which he retains a share. Under the conquering kings the clan has thus been disrupted socially and economically and has been rather quickly absorbed into the political feudal community of the state, although it may still retain its clan name, its old customs, some of its institutions, and its totem for a long time to come.

642 614 628 182 There is one element of the old clan organization which the clan members have retained even under the political reorganization of the Batussi monarchy since it offers them a strong protection against arbitrary acts of their rulers: it is the vendetta (kuhora). Originally, allied clans used it as the most effective way to protect themselves when they were threatened by other clans. Even at the present time the vendetta is the strongest bulwark for the protection of the individual in spite of the fact that public and private security has considerably increased under the strong rule of the royal batwale. Despite criminal jurisdiction administered by the batwale, the vendetta is still used by the clan members as the most effective form of self-help and as a protective instrument of intimidation on the part of those who are politically weak. A person who kills or injures a member of a clan is killed or wounded by the members of the wronged clan (see p. 97). If the wrongdoer cannot be apprehended, the vendetta will strike another member of the criminal's clan. Indeed, more than that, some clans

642 may not be satisfied by equal retribution but avenge the loss
614 of one of their members by killing two or more members of the
628 opposite clan. In former times this created a permanent state
182 of war within the nation, no large-scale political community could develop, and the resistance of the Barundi against external aggression was extremely weakened. The same was true of Ruanda (No. 48, p. 238). It was only the strong monarchy of the Batussi which, in its own interest, put an end to this permanent civil guerrilla warfare. However, now the clans use the vendetta for the protection of their members under the cover of secrecy. The former open guerrilla warfare has turned into insidious murder against which even the most powerful Batussi mutwale is not secure if he is guilty of bloody acts of violence against some clan. The effect of this avenging popular justice and the manner in which it is regarded by the people are reminiscent of our Vehmgericht of medieval times, although they are both quite different in other respects.

[106] Chapter 8

Marriage, Birth, Death

1. Contracting Marriage, Wife, Children

582 In most cases the Barundi are married (kurongora) at quite an early age: the men as soon as they can pay the bride price; the girls often at the age of twelve or even younger if they are [589] nubile. It is very rare that a man voluntarily remains a bachelor. If someone marries late, the only reason is that he is unable to raise the bride price, i.e., the purchase price of a wife. Marriages are exogamous; there are no cases of marriage within the same clan (see p. 100). Bride stealing is unknown as a 583 685 marriage custom. If, under exceptional circumstances, it does occur it is treated as a case of common theft (No. 19, p. 358). 595 Concubinage is practiced particularly in the case when the son of a mutwale or a chief has to wait for a girl of equal rank to

Chapter 2

Familial and Social Organization (continued).
Clans. Family Life and Traditions. Mentality and Psychology.
Character and Temperament of the Africans.
Intelligence, Ability, and Perfectibility of the Blacks.
Africa, the Cradle of the Aurignacian Civilization.

614 The Banyarwanda, whether Batutsi, Bahutu, or Batwa, are grouped into tribes or clans whose names they bear. They lead a patriarchal life. The northwestern regions are those where the concept of the clan has retained all its force and all its importance. The members of a clan pool their interests, their joys, and their revenges.

The exclusiveness of the clans is rigorous. It was in those same regions that the invasion of the Batutsi was opposed most vigorously. One may wonder how this separation into clans originated.

As they evolved, the three ethnic groups, Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa, each adopted the name of one or the other of their ancestors in order to be distinguished from other families with the same origin. This caused the parceling of the tribes.

The Basiete, who became Batutsi only recently, claim to be descended from their ancestor Busiete, who was of Mutwa /sing of Batwa/ origin and who was raised to noble rank by Yuhi III Gahindiro.

Among the Batutsi, it is the Banyiginya, Bega, Balejuru, and Bakongori who claim to have come down from heaven.

614 592 The clan or tribe is nothing more than the extended lineage. "The family, thus constituted, did not remain limited to father, mother, children, and servants.... It grew larger. The spirit of solidarity which united its various members, strengthened by the necessities of time, keeps the various branches attached to the trunk. The younger brothers and their progeny remain grouped around the eldest, from whom they continue to receive a central guidance." /45/

614 [592] This enlarged family, which comprises the younger brothers and their children, the cousins and servants attached to the household (1), takes the name of umulyango, which has the same meaning as

1. Funck-Brentano, L'Ancien Régime /The Old Regime/, p. 15.

mesnie from the Latin mansionata, "household." Eventually the tribe became too large and split up. Each subtribe then took the name of the new chief while retaining as a reminder the name of the common ancestor. In other words, the major clans divided as time went on and remained bound to the mother tribe under a new name.

The Bagwabiro of Bugoyi are descended from a Migwabiro rain maker who belonged to the Muhutu /sing. of Bahutu/ clan of the Basinga.

173 614 He left his village of Suti (Munyambiriri), and, after a vain attempt at colonization in the Kinyaga, settled in the Bugoyi during the reign of Chyilima II Ludjugira, around 1700 or thereabouts. He was reunited there with his son Macchumu, who played an important role in the fight against the famous "Mutes," or "men with an incomprehensible tongue."

614 A change of territory, a raise to the noble ranks, an important role played in some event, the holding of a post at court, etc., such were some of the motives that determined the creation of new clans. In the following pages, we shall describe many examples of such recent formations.

We shall now provide a brief list of clans.

1. Batutsi Ethnic Group

a) The two major clans:
Abanyiginya, from which the royal family originated.
Abega.

b) The secondary clans:
Abatsobe (Gatsobe, Nyirarutsobe).
Abaha, which came from the Uha.

614 Abasinga, Abagessera, Abasiete, etc. /46/

2. Bahutu Ethnic Group

a) Oldest clans:
Ababanda, Abagessera, Abazigaba, Abungura, Abasinga, Abatchaba or Abiru, etc.

b) Secondary or recent clans:
Abambari, Abalevu, Abalindwa, Abatabo, Abahindi, Abakora, Abahigo, Abahuma, Abatembe, Abaziko, Abashobyo, Abondo, Abanyunjo, Abajongo, Abachira, Abakwa, Abanyoni, Abungura, Abalimba, etc.

3. Batwa Ethnic Group

563 They borrow their designations from the Bahutu for most of
614 their clans. Although of Bahutu origin, the Bayovu are linked to the Batwa race. They are regarded as a degenerate group because, like the Negrillos, they eat animals considered impure and make pottery.

In spite of their more or less artificial division into tribes, the Pygmies actually regard themselves from a social point of view as part of one single group called Batwa. They practice what we call solidarity among themselves.

If one of them is killed, the whole group feels injured and
[574] rises to avenge him. A Mutwa /sing. of Batwa/ who travels is everywhere offered hospitality by his "brothers," even if they do not know him.

421 Property rights exist among the Banyarwanda. They are well defined by custom and tradition, notwithstanding temporary injustices and the discretionary powers of the king and of the chiefs. Everyone recognizes those rights and accepts them in principle. No one fails to exercise them or claim them.

They are taken into account in legal proceedings.

Daughters do not inherit but are taken care of by their brothers
421 until the day they marry. /47/

neolithic people made a bread or rather a cake, some interesting specimens of which have been preserved in the waters of Swiss lakes....

"They are round biscuits, probably prepared without yeast with coarse flour...." (3) The bread made of sorghum flour that the

3. Joseph Déchelette, op. cit., p. 344.

Blacks bake is similar to those biscuits and of the same shape. /60/

Who can fail to see that all these analogies, resemblances, and ethnological similarities open to the mind a vast realm of conjecture, especially if one accepts the idea that Africa is the cradle of the Aurignacian civilization (1)?

> 1. It is enough to wander through the galleries of a museum of comparative ethnography, Déchelette adds, to find that the initial stage of civilization among all peoples of the earth presents in every case, if not a uniform appearance, at least many identical fundamental traits. Everywhere the same industry corresponds to the same cultural phase. (Op. cit. p. 313.

614
825 Totemism is not highly prized in Ruanda. Perhaps it is nothing more than a vestige from the past. The totem is always an animal. That of the king is a leopard, the crowned crane is that of the Banyiginya, and the frog that of the Bega. Among the Bahutu, the Bagessera have the wagtail (inyamanza) as their totem, the Babanda have the hyena (impyisi), the Basinga the sparrow hawk (sakabaka), etc. The totem is a member of the clan and is respected as such by the other members.

In the past it happened sometimes that the clan took up arms to avenge the death of its totem, deliberately or accidentally killed by one of the members of a neighboring tribe. The members of certain tribes, the Bapyisi, for example, are said to communicate

614 with their totems or even with other animals, to render them harmless
825 or to excite them against their enemies.

This, however, is a belief that will soon disappear, for the Banyarwanda take small notice of their totems nowadays.

538 As far as oral literature and folklore in general are concerned, one may assert without risk of error that the Banyarwanda have no reason to envy the neighboring peoples.

There may be few Black groups who managed to preserve so many and such ancient traditions, made all the more precious by the fact that they help us understand more than one facet of their history. This will be shown readily /61/ in the course of this work. We believe that the Hamites, who are given to the things of the mind and have organized the country methodically, must be justly regarded as the chief authors of this literary development.

181 The Bahutu of Ruanda owe to these same Batutsi the appreciable advantage of being less backward, less "primitive" than many of their fellow Bantu of Central Africa. Because they were less isolated than most of the members of the tiny neighboring states at the time of European penetration, the Banyawanda found themselves in a situation more favorable to the progress of civilization thanks to the centralization of the Hamitic state.

171 The inhabitants of Ruanda, as we have just pointed out, have more than one trait in common with the other African tribes. In speaking on the subject, Maurice Delafosse provides the following explanation, "The African Negro peoples, as different from one another as they may seem to a superficial observer, have a unified character which may be attributed to their common ethnic origins and to the relative similarity of the physical, economic, and social environments where they first developed and where they later evolved." (1)

1. Les Civilisations négro-africaines /Negro African Civilizations/.

157 As for the reader who wishes to know what to think of the Blacks, we must answer in all sincerity that it is very difficult to

644 The observers add that most of those weapons and objects were once
778 the personal property of vanquished princes and kings, hence their value in the eyes of the victors.

The Hamitic monarchs have also preserved carefully the skulls of beeves whose sacrifice was established as favorable, and the gourds containing the gall bladder (igisabo), the swollen parts of the large intestine (ishira), and certain other parts (ibiranga) of the immolated animals. Those hermetically sealed gourds make highly effective talismans.

534 The names of the main drums are as follows:
552 Kalinga, the palladium-drum.
644 Chyimamugezi, former palladium-drum of King Gihanga.
778 Nyamigezi, the palladium-drum of Yuhi-Mazimpaka.
Butare ("strong as a rock").
Gissabarwanda ("which reverberates throughout the land").
Sinkangimilyango, "I do not inspire fear into the (local) clans."
Mpatsibihugu, "I went to the defense of the land."
Kiragutse, "It spreads out" (that is to say, "It is of enormous size").

Ndamutsa, "I salute him (the king)," from the verb kulamutsa,
[202]/374/ "to salute," because it is pounded in the morning around nine o'clock, when the king appears before his subjects to hear their good wishes and listen to their grievances. It was also used to herald executions of the convicted, a spectacle which formerly drew the interest of most of the court.

5. The official drummers are chosen, like the afore-mentioned
533 keepers, from the Abiru clan. They play on the Ndamutsa drum,
644 hence their title of Abalamutsa. They live in the hut consecrated
● [614] to the late King Lwabugiri (he died in 1895). That is where the ordinary drums are kept, those that are struck from four o'clock in the morning onward, in accordance with an immemorial custom.

6. The court chroniclers, or annalists. Their professional
644 name is Abachurabgenge, "knowledge makers." They form a sort of
814 closed clan whose members alternate by the king's side and acquaint him with the history of the land and the deeds and actions of his

644 forebears. Along with thedeeds of the past, they must preserve the
814 memory of each king's name, the names of the queen mother, of the king's immediate ancestors, and of the tribe to which they belonged.

Needless to say, critical sense has not yet appeared in the land. It happens sometimes that the Court historians and keepers of the traditions disagree about some detail which is now forgotten or
[787] in dispute. In such cases divinatory sacrifices are offered in order to find out what the king should be told (1).

1. See "Founding of the Hamitic Kingdom of Ruanda" /Book II, not translated/ for opinions regarding the authenticity of the first /few/ sovereigns. As fas as the beginnings of the kingdom are concerned, the traditional documentation is of greater value to ethnology than to history.

In spite of their inherent faults and imperfections, the epics nevertheless are not lacking in interest or charm. Through them we can grasp at first hand the thoughts of the Banyarwanda, their feelings, their /375/ ideas about life, their love of their native soil, their attachment to old customs and memories of the past. They reveal the pathetic sorrow caused by foreign invasions, and the enthusiasm inspired by eventual triumph.

7. The keepers of the traditions belong to the important
[64] Abiru clan. Their role is to preserve the unity and continuity of customs at the capital and throughout the realm. The supreme chief of this corporation is the chief of the Batsobe, whose position entails numerous and varied functions.

644 In accordance with a popular tradition, he is personally en-
643 trusted with the task of collecting the umbilical cord (umukungwa) of
787 each of the king's sons, as well as their teeth, including their milk teeth. Then, when the time comes to determine the heir to the throne, it is this personage who has the honor of presiding over the selection.

5: Pages--119 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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the author discusses diviners, including the Bakongori, and the various methods of practicing their art.

The same individual is both diviner and sacrificer.

[826]

The Abakongori are also designated by the name of Abanyambuto because they use the saliva of their clients in their method of divination, hence the name mbuto given to this viscous fluid in this particular case.

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Numerous are the clans, such as the Bazigaba, Batembe, and Bahigo, of the Muhutu /Bantu/ race, which provide the court with diviners and sacrificers, but more numerous still are the families where these functions have been transmitted, since more or less distant times, from father to son or from mother to daughter.

The Bahigo and Batembe inhabit the Bugoyi region. The ancestors of these two families emigrated to the /Ruanda/ kingdom around the year 1800, during the reign of Yuhi III Gahindiro. The members of these two /392/ groups owed their good fortune to a Mututsi /Batutsi/ chief who was pleased with their divinatory talents and made them known to the court of King Yuhi III Gahindiro, where they were summoned (1).

1. The events and incidents of this emigration to Ruanda were preserved by his descendants and make an interesting tale.

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Their method of divination differs from that of other diviners. They are called Abanyamihundwa, that is to say, "jawbone diviners," because instead of using any small bones as do the ordinary Banyanzuzi, they use only the jawbones of sheep, beeves, and antelopes (2).

779 This is how the young prince became willy-nilly the father of the
821 present Bashara, or rain-maker, lineage, which has inherited his
614 vocation.

If they wish to bring rain, these people go outside, look at
778 the sky, and spread out their arms. If they wish to favor only the
821 hill they inhabit, they must sit. If they wish to benefit the entire land with their astonishing power, they must stretch out at full length and spread out their arms at the same time. The storytellers add that this is how the descendants of Rushara have acted ever since that time.

[686] Up to these last few years, rain makers were exposed to serious dangers. It was not unusual to hear that one or another of those unfortunate creatures had been killed or thrown into the river for failing to produce the needed rain on time.

[773] According to another interpretation of the same legend which is very popular in the central province of Nduga, Rushara disobeyed the orders of the sorcerer at the proddings of the demon of curiosity after he had crossed the Nyabarongo. The water ran out of the pot and spread onto the ground. Nyamukama was informed and replied that in order /431/ to get rain, all that was needed was to build upon the spot where the water from the vessel had been spilled, and to dig into the hill (mubuz' imvura, mwubake, muhafukure). Many of the kings of Ruanda have indeed elected this hill as one of their favorite capitals.

In times of drought it is customary to scratch its soil lightly as though searching for a spring, and it is said that Nyamukama's prophecies always come true. This is why the area is appropriately [103] called Bgeramvura (kugera imvura), that is to say, "the place where rain comes forth."

It is for the same reason, and to obtain the same results, that at Mata in Marangara, people dig into both sides of the hill.

The first of the two holes is called "the fountain of milk" (iliba ry'amata) and symbolizes abundance. Cows will then yield more milk. The other hole is called by the name of "source of rain" (iliba ry'imvura). Just by dealing it a few blows with a hoe, a favorable influence is exercised upon the clouds, which will give forth a beneficent rain.

1 [i.e., the Bashara. - Analyst]

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[778]

to move it, according to local belief, hail would soon avenge this insult to the sacred tool.

The same legend adds that Kigwa's mother immediately bent over the hole to see what had become of her son. The ornamental headdress (urugore) which she wore broke loose and remained suspended in mid-air.

[821]

It is believed that this ornament (originally made of a large sorghum stalk) was the origin of the moon!....

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10. The pomp that surrounds the king on his journeys. Customs observed on such occasions.

In the course of their journeys through the provinces of the realm, Hamitic princes must, in accordance with a centuries-old tradition, stay whenever possible with the Bagessera.

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It will be recalled that the latter's totem is the wagtail, and that a Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/, Mututsi /Batutsi/, or Muhutu /Bahutu/ may not enter a newly built dwelling before the bird has been over the hut or in its immediate vicinity. /496/

According to popular belief, the Bagessera have the privilege of establishing contact with this bird of good omen. The Blacks request members of this clan to use their special ability to attract the wagtail.

The king calls upon them, as does the least of his subjects. It may be on account of this role played by the Bagessera that the sovereign chooses their villages to spend the night.

Another reason why the monarch prefers to stay among them possibly derives from the regard accorded to the members of this tribe, which is believed to be the oldest in Ruanda. They lent their name to the province called Bugessera, where all Bagessera claim to have originated.

000 fellow-tribesmen.

162 I constantly inquired about the Batwa, and since I gained no further information, I think I can assume that I have herewith listed the most important groups. Accordingly, the number of Batwa in Ruanda does not exceed 3,000, although there are individuals scattered in many different places. There were two or three in Issawi and a rainmaker in Ruasa.

● 614 The Batwa belong to the same clans as the rest of the Banyaruanda. Thus, the Batwa of Kahima belong to the Mugessera clan, and Kahima seems to be their clan elder, a man of little authority. The Batwa of Kabgaye, as well as those of Muhawura, belonged to various clans and may perhaps be regarded as remnants of clan groups which have been broken up.

[135] Chapter 7

Occupations

241 Agriculture. Agriculture is the chief occupation of the Bahutu. It is carried on quite intensively and with care, reaching its maximum in the vicinity of Lake Kivu. The chief products are: millet (masaka), sweet potatoes (bidjumba), peas (bishimbo), and bananas (bitoke). The following are also grown in large quantities: corn (kigori), peanuts (ichiema), eleusine [a kind of millet] (buro), gourds (mungu), tobacco (itabi), and a little manioc (mukembe).

In Mulera and Bugoye peas are the staple whereas in Kissaka, Nduga, in the northeast territory, and especially in Bgisha, millet is the principal food.

The following methods used in Ruanda agriculture bespeak its high level of development: the use of fertilizer, unknown in eastern Europe; artificial irrigation; and terraced fields on the steep mountainsides.

The care that goes into farming is shown primarily by the way the farmer covers the ground of the banana groves with leaves and rotting banana stalks, so that the moisture necessary to the

766 of Urundi is dried and stretched out on a four-legged frame to be
643 worshipped. It is exposed until the frame is eaten by termites
and collapses. Only then is the corpse wrapped up and buried at
[782] the same spot while many human sacrifices are made. The bodies of Ruanda kings, on the other hand, are dessicated by fire, whereupon the frame on which they lie and the entire hut are reduced to ashes. The death by fire of an entire family in its hut is said to be a favorite method of suicide among the Batutsi.

765 In conclusion we must mention an observation of Dr. Kandt (2):

2. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 476.

"The Wanjaruanda, a tribe living deep in the interior without any contact with Western ideas, say 'ukwirabura (to be black)' when they mean 'to be in mourning.' They say, 'ukwera (to be white)' when they mean 'the period of mourning is past.' This is all the more strange since the two colors in no way appear in dress, decoration, etc., to indicate mourning or the cessation of mourning."

Chapter 11

The Clan

614 Protection of the Individual. The basis of social organization in Ruanda as well as in the other parts of the interlacustrine region is the clan or blood relationship which is here known as umuryango.

The clan represents a society whose membership is replenished by natural increase, for every child belongs to its father's clan. As a result, every clan is actually a union of families closely or distantly related on the male side. Outsiders are admitted to the clan only in exceptional cases. This happens in Mulera, for example, when a family has only daughters and no sons. Since the
[597] lack of male descendants would weaken the fighting force of the clan, families adopt sons-in-law as a precaution. In such cases the children are said to belong to their mother's clan and not to that of their father who in this way relinquishes the interests of his relatives.

614 842 Since the groups involved in this arrangement are small and conditions simple and clear, no one can forget that the welfare of the individual is directly dependent on the welfare of the clan. Hence everyone is very much concerned that the clan appear powerful to the outside world. It must be as large as possible and always ready for war. No effort must be spared to achieve this; otherwise the members of the clan have no protection against plunder, impoverishment, and even complete extinction. The man as well as the woman must be considered from this point of view, and producing children is, therefore, the most important duty of the individual. This explains the completely unenviable position of the childless woman. For the same reason, sons whose descendants will augment the number of clan members are preferred to a daughter, even though one can always trade her for a cow.

614 563 The importance of the clan's strength and fighting fitness, even today in Bugoye, was convincingly demonstrated to me by the fate of my Muhutu informant's father. Several years ago their clan was scattered by advancing Batutsi. Only his father remained on the old clan property, along with the [234] children and his uncle. Since there were only a few men in both families and they were too weak to defend themselves, the Batutsi simply settled on the land and indulged in all kinds of suppressive measures against the weaker farmers. At the time of my visit, for example, they took away a whole hut and carried it to their settlement, instead of building a new one for themselves.

614 628 Every individual is under the protection of the clan. This makes it possible for a person to lead a more or less secure existence. Clan organization represents a sort of social guarantee which is directed primarily against the misdeeds of fellow tribesmen who do not belong to the clan.

614 627 Moreover, the clan exercises control over its members, and, if serious offenses are committed by individuals who endanger the interests of the clan, they can even be exiled.

614 827 428 The clan may also interfere in family matters and, above all, in disputes about inheritances. Although the father can dispose of his property as he sees fit, nevertheless his decisions presuppose the tacit approval of the clan. If the interests of the clan are

614 endangered by his plans for dividing his property, for instance, 627 if he impoverishes several of his sons, the clan often steps in, 428 overrides his decision, and apportions his estate in a way that seems to it more suitable. With the disintegration of the clan and the increased power of the chief, this power passes to him, and he has the final word.

614 The rights of the individual are always sacrificed to the 423 interests of the clan. In Bugoye I even heard that all the clan property is re-apportioned if the fields have become concentrated in the hands of a minority. This re-apportioning, I was told, is called kutshura hasi.

614 At present, under increased taxation and the Batutsi supremacy, 651 it is said that sometimes clan members who cannot pay their taxes are driven out and even replaced by outsiders. The latter then participate in the tax payments which are made in common. Such instances are possible, of course, only when clan organization disintegrates.

614 The clan also protects its women. If there are daughters in a household who have no guardian after the death of their father, they are taken into their brother's house as paternal aunts.

614 The protection of female clan members does not extend to 591 their husbands, however. If husbands settle with their wife's clan 760 without being adopted, they are not regarded as equals. This happens primarily when a widow and her children remain with members of the husband's clan and she takes a man into the house. The latter can simply be driven out after the woman's death.

671 In Bahutu Ruanda, society does not protect the weak. The 614 [235] individual who is on his own, not protected by any group, 178 is without legal rights and can be oppressed and even slain by anyone. Such attacks are not punished here. In the oppression of the defenseless, they see nothing anti-social since actually it achieves better organization. This is the principal means by which the unyielding masses are united into well-organized groups. Here we cannot fail to recognize the connection between the development of the clan system and the absence of general legal norms. That is why the disintegration of clan organization caused by the Batutsi is accompanied by the establishment of universal norms, despite all the despotism that accompanies conquest. Now the individual

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178 finds protection even outside the clan, which formerly was not possible.

614 Ruanda Clans. We have already listed the clans of Ruanda in Chapter 2 [not translated]. However, in view of the significance which the distribution of individual clans in the various provinces has for the history of Ruanda settlements, the list must be supplemented by further data. Here we shall also give the names of the provinces in which the individual clans were observed. (Chart on following pages)

It is said that the Baanzira clan is not represented in Kissaka, but the name is familiar, and strangely enough, it is used by the women in vows. When they wish to affirm something very positively, they say: "Aha Baanzira batshu."

Father Schumacher (1) uses the designation "Base" or "Abase"

1. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda," Anthropos, 1910, p. 896.

for the Bagessera and Bazigaba who play a special role in the Ryangombe cult.

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614 [237] Blood Revenge. Clans practice blood vengeance (kuhora) for their members. If an outsider kills or wounds a clan member, his fellow members take revenge on the members of the criminal's clan.

The clan's revenge, however, is not always a simple settlement on the principle of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. In Kissaka, for example, the people are satisfied if they kill a member of the murderer's clan, whereas in Mulera the vengeance is always greater than the crime. The severity of the vengeance by the injured clan depends on the number of its able-bodied men. The powerful and spirited clan of the Barashi who are settled in Mulera on Muhawura is aware of its strength and takes bitter revenge. For a murdered clansman, the Barashi kill six to eight men from the murderer's clan. The other less powerful Mulera clans content themselves with three or four. The Batutsi, on the other hand, demand as many as ten to twelve heads. The same number is exacted by the greatly feared Batwa clans.

Abaziru	Northeast Ruanda	Kissaka	Nduga	Mulera	Bugoye	Bgisha	Comments
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Baasigu 1)	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Babadji 1)	.....	–
.....	Babanda 2)	.....	Babandi 1)2)3)	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	Babusi 1)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Babwari 1)	.....	from Ndorwa
Rugumvu, chameleon	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bachacha 1)	.....	branch of Baloye
Rutoni, weasel	.....	.....	.....	Bachakohogo 1)	.....	.....	branch of Baloye
.....	.....	.....	Batsiaba 3)	Bachaba 1)3)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Badahe 1)	Badoha 1)	.....	branch of Basinga
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Badjadja 1)	–
.....	Badogo 2)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	Bega 2)	Bega 1)2)3)	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bagaba 1)	–
.....	Bagai 1)2)	Bagahe 1)2)	Bagai 3)	Bagai 3)	Bagai	Bagai 1)	–
Infundi, small red bird	.....	.....	.....	Bagaya 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Bagambira 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bagara 1)	Bagara 1)	branch of Batsiaba
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bageni	–

1) Bahutu-Clan 2) Batutsi-Clan 3) Batwa-Clan

(continued)

Abaziru	Northeast Ruanda	Kissaka	Nduga	Mulera	Bugoye	Bgisha	Comments
Niamanza, wag-tail	Bagessera 1)	.....	Bagessera 1)2)3)	Bagessera 1)3)	Bagessera 1)3)	Bagessera	branch of Batsiaba
.....	Bagiri 1)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Bagirima 1)	.....	.....	branch of Basinga
Ingwe, leopard	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bagwabiro 2)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Bahachi 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	Bahungura 3)	Bahangura 1)	Bahangara 1)	Bakungura 1)	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bahanuka	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	Bahene 1)	.....	.....	.....	branch of Batsiaba
Infundi, small red bird.....	Bahigo 2)	.....	Bahigo 2)	.....	Bahigo 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bahinga 1)	–
Rutoni, Weasel	.....	.....	.....	Bahoma 1)	Bahoma 1)	Bahoma 1)	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Bahotso 1)	.....	.....	–
Niamanza, Bachstelze	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bahuma 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bahumba 1)	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bahunde 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Bahungudu	.....	.....	–
.....	Bahuzi 1)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Baichozi 1)	Baichozi 1)	.....	–

1) Bahutu-Clan 2) Batutsi-Clan 3) Batwa-Clan (continued)

6.Czekanowski-150 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

Abaziru	Northeast Ruanda	Kissaka	Nduga	Mulera	Bugoye	Bgisha	Comments
.....	.....	.....	.....	Bairuntu 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Baisha 1)	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Baishaza 1)	Baishaza	.....	–
.....	Baitera 2)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	Bakango 1)	.....	Bakango 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	Bakiaba 1)	.....	.....	.....	Bakara 1)	Bakanyara 1)	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	Bakimbiri 1)	.....	.....	Bakima 1)	Bakima 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	Bakobga 2)	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	Bakono 2)	.....	Bakono 2)	Bakono 2)	.....	Bakono 1)	–
Rugumvu, chameleon							
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bakora 1)	.....	–
.....	Bakumangari 1)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Bakundi 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bakungura	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bakwa 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Balesi 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Balihira 1)	Balihira 1)	Balihira 1)	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Baloye 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Balyolyo 1)	.....	branch of Bahoma
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bambari 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	Banegitore 1)	.....	.....	.....	–

1) Bahutu-Clan 2) Batutsi-Clan 3) Batwa-Clan

(continued)

Abaziru	Northeast Ruanda	Kissaka	Nduga	Mulera	Bugoye	Bgisha	Comments
.....	.....	.....	.....	Bangona 1)	.....	.....	branch of Basinga called Raven
.....	.....	.....	.....	Bangota 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	Bangura 1)	Bangula 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	Banie-ginia 1)2)3)	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	Banyabeneki 3)	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Banyabgisha 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Banyabgoye 1)	–
.....	.....	.....	Banyabyinshi 3)	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	Banyakarama2)	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Banyambo 1)	Banyambo 1)	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Barashi 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Baruru 1)	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Basale 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Basezera 1)	.....	.....	branch of Basinga
Impereri, rock badger	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bashama 1)	.....	–
.....	Bashambo 2)	Bashambo 2)	Bashambo 2)	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bashobio 1)	.....	–
Niamanza, wag-tail	.....	.....	.....	Bashoke 1)	.....	.....	branch of Bahoma

1) Bahutu-Clan 2) Batutsi-Clan 3) Batwa-Clan (continued)

6: Czekanowski--152 [illegible] (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42 [236]

Abaziru	Northeast Ruanda	Kissaka	Nduga	Mulera	Bugoye	Bgisha	Comments
Liver.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Basigali 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Basigi 1)	.....	Basigi 1)	–
nda, antelope	.....	.....	Basindi 1)3)	Basindi 1)3)	Basindi 1)	Basindi 1)	–
Nsere, black cow with white stripes	Basinga 1)2)3)	Basinga 1)	Basinga 1)2)	Basinga 1)3)	Basinga 1)	Basinga 1)	–
.....	.....	Basita 1)	Basita 2)1)	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Basubahu 1)	–
.....	.....	.....	Basungu 2)	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	Baswaga 2)	.....	.....	.....	–
.....	Basweri 1)	.....	Baswera 1)3)	Baswera 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Batekamogi	–
Ntama, sheep	.....	.....	.....	.....	Batembe 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Batita 1)	.....	.....	branch of Bahoma
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Batogi 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	Batsiaba 1)	Batsiaba 1)	Batsiaba 1)	.....	.....	in Mulera the branches Bagara and Behene
.....	.....	.....	.....	Batsilege 1)	.....	.....	

1) Bahutu-Clan 2) Batutsi-Clan 3) Batwa-Clan (continued)

[Probably should read Ganda, cf. text page 159, line 24.-Analyst]

Abaziru	Northeast Ruanda	Kissaka	Nduga	Mulera	Bugoye	Bgisha	Comments
.....	.....	.....	Batsove 1)	Batsove 1)	.....	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	Batwa 2)	.....	.....	Batundu 1)	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bavuna 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bayovu 1)	.....	–
.....	.....	.....	.....	Bayumbo 1)	.....	.....	branch of Basinga
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bayungo 1)	–
Amara, entrails of every animal	Bazigaba 1)	Bazigaba 1)	Bazigaba 1)2)3)	Bazigaba 1)3)	.....	.....	–
Rutoni, weasel	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bazogera 1)	.....	–

1) Bahutu-Clan 2) Batutsi-Clan 3) Batwa-Clan

In Mulera, in contrast to Kissaka, the female members of the clan are also avenged, but in Ruanda I heard nothing about women being killed in revenge.

The clan which has avenged its dead casts off mourning and celebrates the happy event with dancing and beer drinking. This announces to the others that they have nothing more to fear.

In exacting vengeance, the injured clan is primarily bent on laying its hands on members of the criminal's clan, but the murderer himself also receives special attention.

During my stay in Mulera a man with a pot of beer on his head went to a neighboring settlement. On the way he met a stranger who expressed the wish to taste his beer. When the man refused, the stranger retaliated by stabbing him in the back. The wounded man fell to the ground and began to scream. The stranger fled, but the injured man's clansmen pursued him, inflicted arm and head wounds with a bush knife, bound him, and brought him to their settlement. There he had to await the outcome of his victim's illness, and if the man had died, he would have had to pay with his life for his fit of temper.

Revenge is the factor that most strongly binds the clan together and contributes most to the development of a feeling of solidarity among clan members.

A clan that refused to take revenge would become extinct in a short time, since neighbors could plunder its members without punishment.

[238] The practice of blood revenge in Ruanda and, above all, in Nduga where clan members are scattered among outsiders takes the form of secret, occasional murders. In the northwest, for example, in Itambi where clans have settled in larger units, revenge is said to take on the nature of a regular war. This difference is decidedly an adjustment of the same institution to the particular conditions prevailing in the two regions.

Unsettled and pending cases of revenge constitute an ever-present danger for the clan members, and at the same time they involve many unexpected and unpleasant situations. The clans are settled in different places far apart from one another, and the individual member is not always informed about the relation of his clan to others in distant regions. For this reason the Munyaruanda

614 628 keeps his clan a secret and discloses it only when he has confidence in his questioner. That is why it was so difficult at first to find out the names of the clans, especially before we learned the word for clan, namely, umuryangu or umuliangu.

For its own safety, the clan is forced to watch over its members and, in case of an emergency, oust certain individuals whose actions endanger the community. This applies chiefly to those who, through careless murder, burden their clan with the revenge of the injured. The banished member loses the right of protection and property and will not be avenged. This expulsion is called kilenga ngoma and seems to occur more frequently than adoption.

These imperfect security measures aimed at guaranteeing the safety of the individual cause eternal petty wars. The whole society is split up into a number of warring camps, which weakens its resistance against outside enemies. This applies primarily to the Bahutu, and this will be one of the chief reasons why the better organized herdsmen minority will be able to conquer them.

Clan feuds are by no means limited to the Bahutu. My anthropological studies among the Batwa in the region around Marangara were very much curtailed because a few days before, during an evening of beer drinking, a drunken man committed a murder. The murderer and his clansmen were obliged to leave the region of Marangara in great haste.

614 267 Abaziru. Although blood revenge unites the clan more conspicuously than any other factor, nevertheless in peaceful times one is only occasionally aware of the sharp demarcation of clans. [239] In quiet everyday life the clans are differentiated much more by their food taboos. The adult members of individual clans are forbidden to eat certain foods. For example, the Bagessera and Bashambo, like some Massai tribes, do not eat liver; the Bagahe and Bazigaba do not eat entrails, etc. Each clan may have more than one food taboo. Thus, the Bashambo, for example, eat neither liver nor the meat of foreign spotted cows.

The members of different clans may not eat together because of their dietary laws. Consequently, they also regard each other

614 as unclean and detest being in close contact with each other, 262 chiefly because it disgusts them.

Besides the food taboos of individual clans, referred to [in the table] on pages 149 through 154 as abaziru, there are also general food taboos practiced by larger groups of clans, which even separate different elements of the population from one another. These more universal taboos are added to those of individual clans.

563 262 178 The Bahutu cannot eat with the Batwa because the latter do not respect any taboos and even eat chickens and eggs. The Mututsi, in turn, may not eat with the Bahutu because the latter eat the meat of goats and sheep. This taboo, it seems, is on the decline. The taboo on goat's meat is no longer strictly adhered to. The following explanation is given. The present ruler, Juhi Musinga, was ousted by his father, Lwabugiri, when he was a child and was reared by a Muhutu. In the house of this man he became accustomed to eating goat's meat, and so he has revoked the restriction. The situation is a little different with regard to mutton. The Bahutu of Mulera eat it, whereas the Bahutu of the south do so only secretly, if at all, perhaps because they have been affected by the more influential Batutsi and deny themselves mutton so as not to be regarded as unclean.

262 609 The most disgusting food for the Batutsi and Bahutu, as well as for all the other inhabitants of the interlacustrine region with the exception of the Batwa, is chicken and, above all, eggs. For this reason Europeans and their black personnel, who in this respect resemble Batwa, are despised. Our Banyaruanda porters refused not only to eat with the Wassukuma porters, but also to use the pots which were put at their disposal. Concerning this taboo, the [78] Batutsi and Bahutu are similar to the Galla, Somal, Wakamba [Kamba], Wataita [Teita], Wakikuyu [Kikuyu], and Wadjagga, that is to say, the Hamites and the Bantu who were metamorphosed by them. (1)

1. Hildebrandt, J.M., "Ethnographische Notizen über Wakamba und ihre Nachbarn [Ethnographic Notes on the Wakamba and their

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Neighbors]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1878, p. 378.

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[240] The less universal food taboos involving only a few clans can probably be regarded as traces of older, larger clan groups which later became differentiated and divided into subgroups that were not always aware of their connection. This process is still going on. The Mulera clans of Bangona, Besezera, Bagirima, Bayumbo, and Badahe are said to be subgroups of the Basinga clan. In view of this, we can expect that further research on food taboos will enable us to trace more closely the process of differentiation among the various clans.

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Children are not affected by food taboos, but this is by no means the case with women. They are also bound by special obligations in this respect. For example, the Bahutu women of Kissaka and Mulera may not eat goat's meat, although the men are permitted to do so.

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The food taboos which play such an important role in the life of Ruanda are, however, only one form of the general taboos, abaziru (singular, umuziru), imposed on individual clans.

The umuziru of the Basinga clan is a black cow striped with white. The members of this clan do not drink the milk from such cows, nor do they eat the meat. They are very much afraid of soiling themselves with cow dung because it might come from such a cow. They buy butter in the market, however, when they are not absolutely certain whether or not it comes from such cows. Since cows of this type have no economic value for them, they always try to sell them and to replace them with other kinds.

This example shows that it is not enough to refrain from eating the meat of an umuziru. They must avoid any kind of contact with it. They have a certain regard, however, for economic interests. The useless umuziru cow is sold, and they are more afraid of its excrement than of its butter, which they use when they are not altogether certain of its origin.

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The concept umuziru embraces all the phenomena that are taboo for a clan. They are not actually sacred, for the element of reverence is lacking. In the case of domestic animals, the natives try to sell the economically useless abaziru to outsiders.

614 784 Nevertheless, the individual's freedom of action with regard to his umuziru is limited. For this reason one is closer to the actual meaning of the word when one translates it as "prohibition."

I was told that the following were abaziru: mammals, the various parts of their bodies, birds, fish, grasshoppers, the milk of particular cows, and inanimate objects, such as an empty basket, for example, but not plants, with the exception of a blade of straw.

784 715 614 [241] The meaning of abaziru involves the vague idea that after death everyone takes the form of an umuziru. For example, they believe that the clansmen of the ruler of Kiziba turn into snakes, the family of the kings of Ruanda into leopards, and various Azande clans into all kinds of animals.

I had no opportunity to find out the derivation of abaziru, not even in cases where the transformation into animals after death was positively maintained. Thus, we can hardly link the various prohibitions with remnants of these ideas.

784 614 On the other hand, I learned about traditions which make it seem likely that the prohibitions arose from experiences of clan members or their protoplasts. Thus, in Kifumbiro I was told that one of the clans there (the Abazirambogo) does not eat buffalo meat because one of its ancestors was killed on a buffalo hunt many, many years ago.

The prohibition on wearing the skin of the inganda, antelope, shows how the taboos of a single clan spread to larger groups, even to a whole country. Inganda is an umuziru of the Basindi clan. Its members were not permitted to hunt the animal, eat its meat, or use its skin for clothing. Two wives of a king of Ruanda once quarreled over this beautiful skin, and one stabbed the other with a knife. Thereupon the wise king, in order to eliminate discord from the world once and for all, declared the animal to be an umuziru for the entire country. This has also been the case with dogs, monkeys, and birds.

The Banyaruanda, who generally like to dismiss a questioner with the phrase, "our fathers did it this way," cite traditions about the origin of their taboos, and this we can regard as an argument in favor of the view that the taboos developed along with clan organization.

It is said that atonement for killing an umuziru is made by special ceremonies, and the willful slaying of an umuziru by an outsider can even call forth revenge on the part of the clan.

Marriage Prohibitions. Clan organization also affects the individual in the matter of marriage prohibitions. Members of the same clan may not marry each other. The clan is strictly exogamous. It seems, however, that among the Batutsi there are still traces of an earlier endogamy. For example, in their legend about Kigwa, the first ruler of Ruanda, they say that all Batutsi are descendants of a sister and brother, Nyina Batutsi and Kigwa.

[242] Exogamy in Ruanda is an important factor in social integration. In Mulera, where the old clan organization has been best preserved, the act of contracting marriage consists of the exchange of a woman for a cow. Thus, two different clans come to have a common interest. One clan is helped by a direct increase of its man power. The other, in turn, strives to increase its wealth and possessions. This union, furthermore, necessitates mutual consideration in other matters and thus promotes the social life of larger groups of people.

In contrast to the exogamy of individual clans, there is an absence of valid mixed marriages between Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa. The social and anthropological contrast between these elements of the population is much sharper and more striking than the contrast between Bahima and Bahiru in the Runyoro language area, and since there one can distinguish between Bahima and Bahiru clans, it is all the more surprising that there are Bahutu in most of the clans of Ruanda. Upon investigation we found that in many cases Batutsi and Bahutu had the same clan names, and in less than half the cases observed could we find special Batutsi clans which did not have Bahutu members.

The appearance of Batutsi clan names among the Bahutu can probably be traced to the following two reasons. First, the descendants of slaves, of baja, belong to their father's clan, but, in spite of Batutsi fathers, they are no longer counted among the Batutsi. Thus, there are Bahutu families that trace their origin to Ruanda rulers. Secondly, impoverished Batutsi marry Bahutu women, which rapidly adds to the number of impoverished Bahutu,

563 582 614 even though a child of a Mututsi by his legal Muhutu wife is de jure a Mututsi. Such children are, however, because of their mothers, robbed of all such connections, and this accelerates their absorption by the Bahutu.

Similarly, however, there are cases where prominent Bahutu, if they occupy the position of chief, are absorbed into the Batutsi through mixed marriages. This was the case, for example, with the Barashi chief, Lukara lwa Bishingwe, from the Muhawura volcano. This probably explains how "Batutsi" happen to belong to the clans of Bazigaba, Basinga, Bagessera, and Basita.

Mixed marriages between Batutsi men and Bahutu women are more common than those between Bahutu men and Batutsi women. There are said to be no mixed marriages with Batwa. This aversion [197] persists even in Christian communities, and I even heard that the only baptized Mutwa in a Christian congregation could not find a wife.

572 608 [243] Blood Brotherhood. In speaking of exogamy, we mentioned it as the primary factor in the social integration of a society that is split up by mutually warring clans. We shall now discuss the second factor, namely, the institution of blood brotherhood.

In Mulera, if you wish to show someone that you value his friendship, you go to him to replenish your fire. To make the friendship secure, however, you must join with him in the pact of blood brotherhood (kunywana).

Simple friendship is very sharply distinguished in Ruanda from the social institution of blood brotherhood. The word for friendship is kwuzulu which literally means "filled" or "full." People are regarded as friends who "are saturated with one another," and who must therefore be considerate of each other.

572 608 628 There are friends on all levels of the social system, but it seems that the institution of blood brotherhood in Ruanda is connected with the undifferentiated clan organization of the north. This is doubtless due to the fact that in regions like Nduga, for example, where the chief's power is well organized, the individual can count on a certain measure of protection from the representatives of the state, but in regions where the entire country

572 608 Umugore wawe amushigisha nzoga uta hali, iki kihanga utikikwiehe. (If) woman yours will refuse him banana beer (when) you are absent, this vow will not kill you.

After this curse he hands the knife to the second witness who rubs the iron against the palm of his hand and repeats the curse. Then the two witnesses rize, lift their bent arms to the level of their eyes, and then slap their knees with the words: "Ndateranya sinkiza (I unite, I protect not)." In reply the two blood brothers lie down on the floor and embrace. Then they are covered with a mat, whereupon one of the witnesses hits the mat twice with a stick and says: "Ndateranya, sinkiza, zubanda (I unite, I protect not, rabble)." The blood brothers reply to this by hitting each other. Later, assisting one another, they rise to a crouching position. This ceremony means that blood brothers also fight with one another, but this is their own affair which they must settle among themselves in secret (under the mat). In the outside world blood brothers may only support one another.

572 608 431 After this ceremony they exchange presents. One of the blood brothers takes his present, usually a hoe, and hands it to his new friend with the words: "End'isuka, nkukye ku kirago (accept the hoe, may it help you to rise from the mat)." The other takes his present, hands it to the first one, and repeats the same words. Then they both arise, and each one gives his witness an arm ring as a present.

572 608 614 628 Through this ceremony the blood brother (munywana) seems to attain a sort of personal membership in the clan of the other blood brother without resigning from his own clan. This is confirmed by the fact that blood brotherhood is not entered into by members of the same clan. I occasionally heard that formerly, in the indeterminable "olden times," blood revenge was practiced for blood brothers as it was for clansmen.

572 608 614 178 It seems that blood brotherhood has lost a great deal of its significance. This may be considered a result of state organization which has caused a progressive deterioration of clan organization. This process, however, has not just come about in very recent times, as may be gathered from a proverb in Ruanda which [245] says: "umwuzulu uluta umunywano (friendship is better than blood brotherhood)." In Ruanda we may mention two facts in favor

572 608 614 178 of the view that blood brotherhood is connected with the Bantu substratum or at least with clan organization: the use of banana beer and hoe-money in the ceremony; and the relationship between blood brotherhood and the system of marriage prohibitions.

572 608 In the cults associated solely with the Batutsi, only millet beer seems to be used. Here we have banana beer mentioned in the curse formula which is undoubtedly very old. It is very strange, however, that milk is also mentioned along with beer. The latter fact warns us to be cautious.

572 608 582 Much more important, on the other hand, is the marriage prohibition which even at the present time is scrupulously observed. The children of blood brothers regard themselves as related. This relationship is called bapfasoni. The statement that the marriage prohibition also applies to other relatives of the father's blood brother was not emphatically denied, but it seems to me most unlikely. I was also unable to find out whether a man may marry women from the clan of his blood brother.

572 608 837 According to several reports, sexual intercourse with the wife of a blood brother is regarded as a great insult, but other reports have it that the women are at the disposal of visiting blood brothers. (1) This point could not be fully cleared up because,

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 177.

among the Batutsi, friends are quite commonly in the habit of entertaining one another with their wives.

572 608 563 Batutsi and Bahutu enter into blood brotherhood with one another. Neither of them, however, enters such a pact with the Batwa.

614 621 The Clan Community. The political significance of the clan varies greatly in different parts of Ruanda. The clan is prominent in areas where the Batutsi state has not yet been firmly established, as, for instance, in Bugoye and above all in Mulera. In Nduga, on the other hand, clans have little political significance. This significance is in direct proportion to the degree of concentration of clan members in a territory.

614 621 In the north the members of individual clans have large areas wholly to themselves. In view of the not very strictly organized political situation, these autonomous territorial communities can sometimes play a very important role because of their solidarity and their often rather large numbers. In Nduga, on the other hand, the power of the state has broken up the clans, scattered them, and robbed them of any possibility of forming political or territorial clan unions. The representatives [246] of the various warring factions were incorporated into territorial groups and placed under chiefs appointed by the state. If you travel from Mulera to Nduga via Bugoye, you can observe the successive phases in this process of the formation of a state. You see how the independent, undifferentiated clans are first drawn into all kinds of dependent relationships and are then gradually absorbed.

In taking possession of Bugoye, members of the same clans have settled in various places. As a result, the whole country represents a mosaic of properties occupied by different members of the same clans who are physically separated from one another, yet still aware of their historical connection. This is most clearly evident in the institution of blood revenge, as well as in the prohibitions regarding food and marriage. This awareness, however, is not sufficient to bring about the formation of larger, independent, well-disciplined political unions. Every individual settlement is an entirely independent community with its own elder at the head.

614 622 In clan communities that have been unaffected by conquest, the head of the community has little authority. He represents the clan community in external affairs and settles internal disputes. The latter are one of the most important reasons why clan members emigrate. The headman is known as mugabo, and his position is hereditary, usually devolving upon the eldest son. In the list given below, the bagabo are given first place.

After the subjugation of clan communities by outside conquerors, the mugabo occupies a special place. His duty is to collect taxes and to deliver them to the official commissioned by the king. However, this official position gives him a certain

622 614 influence which can increase along with that of the outside conquerors, especially if he knows how to make himself useful to them. Since the privilege of collecting taxes is hereditary, it bears a seed that can grow to the level of a regular high chief, as was demonstrated in the case of the Muhutu, Lukara lwa Bishingwe, who became known even in Europe for the murder of the missionary, Father Paul Loupias.

The leadership of the Barashi under Lukara lwa Bishingwe is an example of a clan whose elder, through the influence of the Batutsi, was elevated to chief according to the concepts of the conquerors. This development has not, however, come to an end. The entire process is too new, too little strengthened by tradition.

The privileged position of the Barashi clan elder goes back only two generations. Lukara's father, Bishingwe, was a very skillful hunter and [247] knew how to use a Batwa group for his ends. He knew how to furnish Lwabugiri, the king of Ruanda and father of Musinga, with plenty of ivory, and the king rewarded him for it. The king treated him as his immediate vassal (mugaragu) and made him chief over his own clan, in which he is said to have formerly held the position of mugabo.

622 614 578 The promotion of the powerless clan elder to chief was not recognized by the clan members, and among them Lukara had little power, according to my observations at the time of my journey. He tried to remedy this disadvantage by attracting exiled riffraff and foreign elements from dispersed clans and settling them on free land. He selected his followers from among this unorganized group who, as strangers, were at the mercy of everyone and could expect protection only from Lukara. With them he held his fellow clansmen in check. The latter, however, in their hatred, drove the outsiders to Lukara, and in this way there arose that compact, strictly organized structure which made Lukara so dangerous to his opponents. The Mututsi, Luhanga, his chief opponent, did not have such a well-disciplined following.

I had an opportunity, on the basis of a minor incident, to observe how great the constant internal friction of this social structure must be. I requested Lukara to have water fetched for my men. After negotiations that lasted almost two hours, Lukara announced that he was willing to do this and told his men who were assembled

in the courtyard to fetch water. No one was in a hurry to make the half an hour trip to the water hole. Lukara grew angry at this delay, seized a few people by their hands, and pushed them aside to have them get the water. One of them rebuffed Lukara with the words, "I am no Murashi," and would not let himself be singled out. Lukara began to scold and asked the name of the man's father, but did not molest him further. The water had to be fetched by newcomers. Lukara has allowed these newcomers to settle, and therefore he can, of course, also drive them out again. He cannot treat his fellow tribesmen so arbitrarily.

In spite of the friction between the clan elder and the clan members, the Barashi support Lukara. They know that his downfall will mean their subjugation to outsiders. That is why Lukara is so strong in the face of his opponents, even though he has not as many men to put into the field. His Batutsi opponents must depend on Bahutu who have no such interest in Batutsi successes.

Lukara, whose father became a mugaragu only through the demagogic Lwabugiri, now passes himself off as a Mututsi. His men, too, say that he is a Mututsi. His fellow clansmen, however, merely say [248] that whenever he can, he tries to oppress his own people with newcomers, as an outsider, a Mututsi, would do.

In this manner the peasant aristocracy made up of clan elders merges with the Batutsi. We are, therefore, justified in asking outselves whether this gradual rise to nobility, sealed by the forgetting of ones origins is not the chief reason why Bahutu clan names occur among the Batutsi.

The size of the autonomous clan communities, which roughly correspond to our villages, varies a great deal. In many cases they have a population of about 100, while some have a few thousand inhabitants. In the Barashi territory, for example, there are 6,000 to 8,000 people. The fertile area is bounded on the north by primeval forests covering the volcanoes, on the east by Lake Bolero, and on the south by the lava steppes. The population was pushed out of the lava plain by the Barashi. The Batwa, however, remained on Muhawura.

As we have seen, the population of these communities does not consist entirely of clan members. There are also outsiders who

settle among the clan members as clients (bagaragu) who perform services for them for which they get their food and from time to time a sheep or goat. They are poor devils who in this way must scrape together the means to buy a wife. There are others in the densely populated areas where there is no free land who rent acreage and even own houses on rented land. Others rent only as much land as is necessary for their hut and a small courtyard, and they make their living as day laborers.

We must point out that settling on the land of a strange clan presupposes a certain calm and stability and signalizes the impending deterioration of the clan community. Under more primitive conditions where clan organization is at its height, we seldom find cases of people settling on the land of a strange clan. Life among strangers would be too dangerous because feuds involving blood revenge might break out. There is no security against feuds between the clan of the host and that of the settler, and then the isolated person is the first victim because one can most easily get at him.

Property. The clans of Bugoye and Mulera occupy regions which were taken over and cleared by their ancestors several generations ago.

In Ruanda the clearing of the primeval forest plays a very important role in the conception of ownership. In Bugoye, despite the recent Batutsi conquest, land is regarded as the property of those whose ancestors [249] took possession of and cleared the corresponding sections of primeval forest. This comes out in legal cases involving property, when they cite as a witness the stone on which the bush knife (muhoro) was sharpened when the land under dispute was cleared. The party claiming the land says: "I shall bring the whetstone (uzakuha ulutsiaga) that my ancestor used when he cleared this piece." In view of this, the clan members may also be regarded as the owners of the land occupied by them.

However, although the huts, the animals, and all the furnishings are absolutely private possessions which one can dispose of as he sees fit, the possession of land is not entirely free of restrictions. The clan members really have only the use of the common property given them. The land, like its possessor, is the property of

614 623 the clan and can be disposed of only after the common interest has been considerable. These are the conditions that exist where the clans have not been subjugated and dispossessed by their conquerors.

[643] As a result of conquest, the land falls into the possession of the king and is granted to the subjects in his name by the chief he has appointed. Under such conditions, there can be no question of voluntary disposal of this land.

556 231 The wealth of the individual is not measured by the size of the fields he lays claim to, but solely by the number of cattle he owns. With a largely undifferentiated social organization and poor communication routes, the free sale of field products is slight. These products must serve almost exclusively to satisfy the needs of the producer. Moreover, in many parts of Ruanda there is still such a reserve of free land that its value is relatively low, and the monopolizing of this form of property by the privileged class becomes only a secondary means of social discipline.

Power can be much more easily exercised in Ruanda by a monopoly of cattle ownership. That is why the Batutsi are trying to get the ownership of cattle wholly in their hands and make individuals subservient to them by granting them cows and permitting them to share the milk.

Following this principle of rule which is most natural for herdsmen, the Batutsi, when they conquered Bugoye, punished the farmers only slightly; the clans were merely taxed. The Mugoye, however, must drive his cows into the woods and have them tended there when they no longer give milk and the household can do without them. Although the cow [250] could be pastured near his dwelling, he would rather take the risk of having the herder run off with his property than arouse the greed of the mighty, since this might lead to expropriation.

614 621 592 423 231 In conclusion we shall give some data about the property and the members of the three clan communities of Baishaza, Bahoma, and Bagwabiro, who live on the hills of Katebe and Kitebe near Nyundo. I obtained these figures by actual count in the field.

[251] This brief compilation gives us a good idea of how the clan communities are constructed and what they own. In this list only heads of families were consecutively numbered; their

6:Czekanowski--170 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Baishaza of Katebe

No.	Name	Clan	Clan Members	Sons	Married Daughters	Unmarried Daughters	Wives	Bagaragu	Cows	Goats	Sheep	Fields	Banana Groves	
1.	Ndiramiye	Mwishaza	1	—	2	—	1	—	1/3	—	—	2	—	„mugabo"
	Nikora	„	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Sebisogo	Muzogera	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
2.	Seramunda	Mwishaza	1	4	—	1	2	—	3 4/5	5	2	3	1	
	Marceli	„	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Semivombi	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
3.	Ndereye	„	1	2	2	—	1	—	1/3	4	4	6	3	
	Donati	„	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Semajeri	Mwambari	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Semilyangu	Muvuna	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Katutsi	Mukwa	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Ndegeya	Mwichozi	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Banitogega	Mukora	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
4.	Mukuri	Mwishaza	1	1	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	4	1	
	Kolombani	„	1	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	2	—	
	Otto	„	1	—	—	—	1	—	1/3	2	—	2	—	
5.	Mpabuka	„	1	2	1	—	1	—	—	3	2	outside		
	Sebichikira	„	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
6.	Mazayo	Muhuma	1	—	—	—	1	—	1 1/3	7	12	1	1	Son-in-law of No. 9.
	Bisaga	Mushobio	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Nyira Majoro	Muhuma	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Nyira-Kimonjo	Mukara	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
7.	Gukuru	Mwishaza	1	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	
8.	Marobi	„	1	1	—	2	1	—	1	4	4	1	—	Day laborer for board
	Ndamwete	„	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
9.	Sebutama	„	1	2	1	—	1	—	1	2	2	4	1	
10.	Gafene	„	1	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
11.	Senguri	„	1	1	—	1	1	—	2/3	1	—	4	2	Field of No.1
12.	Mafara	Munyabgisha	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	2	2	—	Son-in-law
	Birere	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	Brother of No.12
13.	Ndungutsi	Mwishaza	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	Field of No.1
14.	Bukara	„	1	1	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	2	—	
	Antigoni	„	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	
	Filipo	„	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	2	—	
15.	Segibobi	„	1	1	—	—	2	—	—	2	—	2	—	Children of vagrant wife
	— —		—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
16.	Nderiwamunda	„	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	4	2	
17.	Bihwehwe	„	1	1	—	2	1	—	—	3	—	2	1	
18.	Gihigwa	„	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	1	—	
			27	22	11	16	30	9	9 1/10	41	28	45	12	104 persons 1)

midwives

1) Among them 47 male clan members and two sons-in-law.

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Bahoma of Kitebe (Balyolyo Branch)

No.	Name	Clan	Clan Members	Sons	Married Daughters	Unmarried Daughters	Wives	Bagaragu	Cows plus	Bulls	Goats	Sheep	Fields	Banana Groves	
1.	Rugira	Mulyolyo	1	2	—	3	4	—	$2^1/_4+1$	3	4	3	1		„mugabo"
	Sebishimbo	Mudahe	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
2.	Dominiko	Mulyolyo	1	1	—	1	1	—	$^1/_6$	2	2	2	—		
	Budjodjwe	Mugai	—	—	—	—	—	1	$3^1/_2+1$	—	—	—	—		
3.	Rukara	Mulyolyo	1	—	3	1	1	—	—	5	—	3	1		
	Muchuchu	Murashi	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
	Birikunzira	Munyakaru	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
	Rusigari	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
4.	Faro	Mulyolyo	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	—	2	—		
	Sanzibarose	Mwambari	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
5.	Rudjanju	Mulyolyo	1	3	—	3	2	—	$2^1/_4+1$	4	4	4	1		
	Mabgiri	Muhanuka	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
	Karbagoye	Mutembe	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
6.	Sedigi	Mulyolyo	1	1	—	—	1	—	$2+^1/_2$	2	2	4	1		
7.	Bihire	„	1	2	3	—	2	—	—	1	—	5	1		
8.	Bashaki	„	1	—	—	3	1	—	—	—	—	2	—		
9.	Ishaho	„	1	1	—	1	2	—	$2+^1/_2$	3	—	3	1		
	Mwisa	„	—	—	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—		
10.	Patria	„	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	2	1		
			10	11	6	14	17	9	$12^3/_4$	3+4	22	12	30	7	61 persons 1)

Bagwabiro of Kitebe

1.	Mwuyekure	Mugwabiro	1	2	1	1	3	—	$^1/_2$	5	2	4	1		„mugabo"
2.	Maliro	„	1	5	—	1	2	—	—	5	4	4	1		
3.	Semiteza	„	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	1	1	3	1		
4.	Mabembe	„	1	1	2	1	4	—	4	5	—	8	1		
	Karisti	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
	Kichondo	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—		
5.	Bidjari	„	1	2	—	—	2	—	1	6	—	10	1		
6.	Sekini	„	1	2	—	—	1	—	1	3	—	3	1		
7.	Sebihumira	„	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	$^1/_2$	—	4	1		
			7	14	3	4	14	2	$6^1/_2$	$25^1/_2$	7	36	7	41	persons 2)

1) Among them 21 male clan members.

2) Among them 21 male clan members.

614 grown sons are listed below them, and this shows that the average
62 size of a family with its servants is about six persons, three or four
592 of which occupy one hut. The number of huts is almost identical
423 with the number of women. It is very important to note that the
231 head of the Baishaza clan community, the mugabo, Ndiramiye, is one of the poorest farmers on Katebe.

[252] Chapter 12

King and State

643 The King. The power of the king is the active factor in the
614 formation of the state in Ruanda which has influenced the passive
178 factor, clan organization. The entire state is nothing more than
642 the overgrown household of the king, into which all the Batutsi clans were first drawn and then absorbed. As the imperial household grew, the Bahutu clans were likewise drawn into its sphere of influence. They underwent a process of disintegration and differentiation which is still going on. In fact, in the northern part of Ruanda the process is still in its beginning stages.

644 In speaking of the clan communities of Katebe and Kitebe in Bugoye, we mentioned the bagaragu (clients) who come from another district and attach themselves to the powerful in order to serve them and to get their living from them. Some among these hope to be granted a goat or even a cow. Among the clan elders, for example, Lukara, who enjoyed great influence in his clan, the number of these clients was large. He granted them parcels of land on which they could settle under his protection. The same thing goes on in the court of the king, with some modification and on a far greater scale. The king's bagaragu are not poor devils who have been exiled, but influential people with large retinues who in
642 turn have dependents and subdependents. In this respect the Ruanda state is a pyramid with the king at the head and the free farm population without property at its base. In between are the high chiefs with their subchiefs as the organizing element that keeps the population in check.

643 Juhi Musinga, the ruler of Ruanda, was without doubt the most
648 powerful of the native potentates whom I had an opportunity to see

661 642 178 648 control easier. The moment this happens the native no longer has any protection against his chief. As a result, the need for serious intervention by the European administration becomes an urgent necessity. With increased possibilities of exploitation certain norms must now be set up which will protect the interests of the common man and permit him some freedom, in other words, give him back everything that was formerly guaranteed him by means of a less perfect, less compact and oppressive social organization and without any kind of pact. Under these conditions, further intervention by the European administration becomes a necessity, because there is as yet no guarantee that the new order will do more than contribute to a "more complete exploitation of the lazy Negro" and perhaps also to a decline in the population.

642 64 178 By comparing conditions in Ndorwa, Mulera, Bugoye, and Nduga, we can easily determine the direction in which conditions have developed in Ruanda.

In Ndorwa we find independent clans living apart from one another.

[265] In Mulera the clans have been subjugated by the king and pay taxes. The Batutsi have driven the natives from some of the hills and permit homeless members of disrupted clans to settle there. These dregs must support their masters and perform compulsory services for the protection they get. These are the new communities which really should be spoken of as analogous to large estates. Some of the clan elders, such as Bishingwe, father of Lukara, are joining the conquerors and are supported by them. With this support they settle immigrants on the uncultivated land, and the latter must perform compulsory services, just as they do for the Batutsi.

In Bugoye the distinction between conquerors and peasant aristocracy is gradually being effaced and along with it the difference between impoverished clan members and immigrants who are domiciled on the remaining free land by the clan elder and become his bondsmen. In Bugoye this process is not yet completed.

The Bambari clan have already put their buletwa to work in the field of the chief, who is also a Mumbari and who must be regarded as a former clan elder. Here the land is already regarded as his property, as land granted by the king.

642 However, the Bagwabiro, an impoverished Batutsi clan, main-
614 tain that the king gave them the bush knife (muhoro) for Bugoye.
178 They occupied large areas, defended them, in some parts successfully, against the encroaching self-contained clans, and settled them with exiles, refugees, and vagabonds, who make up the biletwa of the Bagwabiro. Here the community headmen are officials of the king, which is in contrast to the situation among the rest of their clansmen where bagabo only collect taxes for the Bagwabiro. However, there seems to be a tendency to blot out the difference between Bagwabiro and tax collectors (clan elders) and to make serfs of the clan members, as is already the case with the Bambari.

In Nduga the population on the various hills is very mixed. It belongs to different clans. Most of the land belongs to the chiefs (the large landowners), and only occasionally do we find ngabo (fighting farmers) who are exempt from compulsory service (buletwa), that is to say, who live on their own land (granted to them by the king).

In this way clan organization in Ruanda is broken up by the rule of the herdsmen and the resultant development of a peasant aristocracy. The factors that remain to uphold clan organization are the food taboos, exogamy, and blood revenge.

The effect of royal power on the homogeneous clans has resulted in the differentiation of the population.

In Urundi the tendency towards centralized state organization [266] does not seem to have made much progress as yet. Here there are still feudal masters who are unrestricted rulers of entire provinces, while in Ruanda the chiefs have nowhere near the same independence on their lands. Here too, however, the land is regarded as the king's property.

635 Political Organization. Ruanda consists of a number of provinces with geographic names but without administrative units. We have already mentioned Nduga, Mukinjaga, Bugessera, Bugoye, Bwischascha, Mulera, Bgisha, Ruweruka, Ndorwa, and Kissaka.

The individual provinces have no central administration and
634 no governor. The provinces are divided into a number of communities, most of which are assigned to clients staying at the

631 tendencies of their fathers. Count Von Götzen (1) mentions
642

1. Götzen, Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa from East to West] (Berlin, 1899), pp. 156, 159.

only one governor of Kissaka, namely, Kavahigi, but he also speaks of Kaware (Kabare) in the northern part of the country.

621 The hill (kashozi) is the smallest political unit in Kissaka,
631 as well as in all the rest of Ruanda. The inhabitants of a hill belong to different clans, and the factor uniting them is purely
[622] political. It is primarily the chief, to whom compulsory service (buletwa) must be paid. This official is likewise appointed by the high chief. However, the very large hills are not infrequently divided into subgroups with different subchiefs. Thus, the hill known as Bare in Nsasa is divided into the communities of Bare, Ishua, Kibare, and some others.

621 In Mulera where there are very few Batutsi and these have
● 614 no great power, much more primitive conditions have been preserved. Here too, however, political units are represented by hills, but each hill has a homogeneous population, consisting of
[65] the members of the clan. These communities are directly subordinate to the king and, through their elders, pay taxes to the king's deputies. Here the mutware, the integrating factor, is absent. On the few hills [269] in Mulera belonging to Batutsi, however, we find conditions similar to those in Kissaka. Here,
[651] also, taxes are paid to the chiefs and not to the king's deputies. I believe that the Bahutu on these hills must also render compulsory service.

Ndorwa is a country that is only under nominal rule and does not pay taxes to Musinga. We find here the same clan communities, but they are completely independent, small political units.

Besides the two extreme forms, the community settled on alien land granted to the chief by the king, which the chief represents at court, and the free clan community settled on its own land and paying taxes to the king's deputy but having no

621 representative at court, we find clans that do have their repre-
614 sentatives at court. The Bahenyi represent such a Bahutu clan, and, in contrast to the Batutsi tribes, they have a headman. At the time of my visit it was Runiga.

Among the members of the clans, however, there are also high chiefs. Thus, Kakawandi is said to be a Muhenyi. He rules in the Nyawarongo Valley far into Mulera, but I do not know whether he rules in a part of the original clan territory.

The Barashi constitute another Bahutu clan represented at Musinga's court by its elder. We have discussed this clan in the previous chapter.

Bugoye is also in an intermediate position. Here we have areas of free farmers and others where the land has been granted to chiefs and is cultivated by biletwa. These lands are chiefly under the rule of Bushakwe, who is represented in the territory by Lwakadygi.

625 Police. The king supervises the entire country with the
202 help of a very strictly organized police force. Every important person, every European traveler, is scrupulously watched. Every minor detail is reported to the king. It is certainly not easy to understand how such accuracy can be achieved without the art of writing. Police duty is under the management of local chiefs, and they relay dispatches to the high chiefs residing at court. Actually, news is shouted from one hill-top to another. The chiefs report to the king and try to outdo each other in the accuracy and dispatch of their news service.

625 The population hates the police agents. I had an opportuni-
57A ty to observe this when the Mututsi, Lwakazina, wanted to join my column in Mulera for protection. The people had become so enraged at him because of his dangerous service that his life and goods were no longer safe.

[270] Count Von Götzen (1) mentions that Batwa policemen

1. Götzen, Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West (Berlin, 1899), p. 161.

are said to wear special insignia, a forehead band with monkey hair.

659 There are no public services in Ruanda, with the exception of ferry service and police regulations, if we may use this term. Both of these, however, serve primarily to satisfy the needs

651 The bagaragu of Chief Makobi do hoeing as recompense for rented fields, or this may be done by paid day laborers (mubizi). The clan communities under discussion, however, are free of this burden, since they live on their own land.

There are also taxes that are paid by particular families or communities. The furnishing of objects whose manufacture presupposes a certain skill falls in this category. Among these objects are salt that is made from swamp grass, grass rings for women's legs (butega), otter skins, wildcat skins, cowhides, barkcloth, weapons, etc. The people who furnish these items are exempt from part of the normal taxes that represent the share of the ordinary farmer. Thus, Mulera furnishes a rather large number of butega.

651 614 The duty of the Bahenyi, a privileged Bahutu clan, is to build royal houses. They also play a part in the cult, offering special sacrifices, and they may not eat with members of other clans.

Special taxation on individual clans seems to be a remnant of an older form of taxation, the clan tax. This has been very nicely preserved in Kiziba where individual clans have special duties toward the king. This is the nature of the taxes borne by free, landowning farmers (ngabo) in Mulera. Here the tax is the concern of the clan community. It is paid by the clan elder, and apportioning the tax is an internal matter for the community. All its members, however, have joint responsibility for paying the tax.

The ngabo pay their taxes in honey and also give the king annually every twentieth cow. If the number of cows owned is less than 20, a goat is given for each cow. In figuring taxes, one cow is equal to 20 goats.

651 661 [274] In Mulera the taxes of the ngabo are collected by special deputies of the king. We need not emphasize the self-evident fact that the officials entrusted with the collection of taxes increase the amount to their advantage and do not shrink from shameful plunder. If, as is generally the case, a high chief is not present when the taxes are collected, the Balera will not stand for this oppression. For their part, they seek every opportunity to get out of paying taxes altogether. That is why there are big rows

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

THE BATUSE OR BALYAN-WANDA OF RUANDA

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE TRIBE AND ITS GOVERNMENT

The clans—government—powers of the chiefs—taxation—murder—homicide—death in battle—suicide—the chief priest

115 THOUGH much of the Ruanda country became Belgian after the war, there is still a large part of Kigezi which is British Ruanda. My information with regard to these people was derived from two chiefs who were political prisoners in Mbarara. One of them was a prince of Ruanda who had fought against the British during the war and had been captured, and both were exiles from their own country because their king regarded them as dangerous to him and wished to kill them.

THE CLANS

● 614 The tribe was divided into clans which were totemic, having both primary and secondary totems. Sub-divisions of several clans were mentioned, but the information given was so imperfect as to be of little value. The names given were the same as some of the main clans and details as to the totems were lacking. The list, however, is given to show the existence of such sub-divisions:

1. Abanyiginya, totem, *mpekhi* or *epu* and *efuti*, a calf born feet foremost?

This was the royal clan and had three sub-divisions with the same totems:

(*a*) Abasindi.
(*b*) Nabaganzo.
(*c*) Abene, which had also a third totem, an unmarried girl with child.

2. Abega, totems, *mpekhi* and *efuti*.

Sub-divisions with the same totems:

(*a*) Abakono.
(*b*) Abaha.

[p. 184]

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

3. Abakono.
4. Abagisere, totem, *enyamanzi*, wagtail.
   Sub-divisions:
   (*a*) Abasinga, totems, *enyamanzi*, and *lubombo*, a cow.
   (*b*) Abazigaba, ,, ,,
   (*c*) Abatyaba, ,, ,,
5. Abazigaba.
6. Abasinga.
7. Abawungara.

[582] The members of this clan intermarry and also marry people from outside tribes and from the clans Abakongole, Abaswere and Abasinga, but not from other clans, for these four clans were despised people and men of other clans would not marry girls from them.

8. Abatyaba, totem, *enyamanzi*. Abanyiginya and Abega clans refuse to marry girls from this clan.
9. Abasindi, totems, *mpekhi* and *efuti*.
10. Abakongole.
11. Abasambo, totems, *epu* and a house burned down and lightning. These came from Ankole.
12. Abaswere.

GOVERNMENT

643 692 The head of the country was the king, whose title was *Omwami* or *Mugabe*, and all important cases had to be brought to his court (*Kambera*) for trial. The king, however, did not 634 [428] appoint the great chiefs or *Abatwala*, for their offices were hereditary and they had been appointed by former kings, who divided the land into some forty districts and put a district chief over each. When, however, a district chief died leaving a son who was too young to manage the estate, the king appointed a guardian, often a brother of the dead chief, who administered the estate until the real chief was old enough. The new chief might then give his guardian a chieftainship under him and retain him as an advisor. If the guardian did not receive or accept such an office, he went to the king, who found him some post.

634 693 [203] Each district chief was the magistrate in his own district; but appeal might be made from his jurisdiction to the court of the king, to which the chiefs were summoned by crier, for

7: Roscoe M-5 - (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

Meat was always cut from the bones before being served, 252
and the bones were given to the servants or to peasants. Men 264
sometimes ate with their families, but almost always they ate
alone and in secret, and even the food that was left over from
their meal might not be seen, for should there chance to be [626]
bones amongst it, the man was laughed at and made fun of
by those who saw it. It was the duty of a man's wife to cut
up the meat and remove all bones. If a friend paid a visit he 574
might partake of a meal only if he was with his host from the
beginning of it; if he arrived during the meal he was not
permitted to approach. The rules of hospitality were very
strict, and even a poor person of the same clan would be [614]
invited to share a man's meal, while the richest member of
one of the despised clans would never be allowed to do so.
Among the better classes the cooks were men, but among [462]
poor people women cooked for their husbands.

There were no special rules about fire; but it was always 372
preferable to obtain it from some other fire, and only if this
was impossible would they use fire-sticks to kindle it.

The Cattle

The people were largely agricultural, but cows were looked 231
upon as their wealth and they kept large herds, some running 556
even into thousands; while a man who was considered only
moderately rich would have four or five hundred.

The people, because of their agricultural pursuits, had fixed 233
dwellings, but the herdsmen wandered about with the cows [361]
for pasture. The cattle were of mixed types, some short-
horned and some long-horned; they were divided into herds
of two to four hundred, each herd being under the care of a
head-man and twelve or more others. They roamed the pasture
lands two or three months at a time without returning home,
sleeping in grass huts hastily erected, while the cattle were left [343]
in the open without fences. The calves were kept in the huts and
their presence prevented the cows from straying, while a watch
was kept to protect them from wild animals. The men stayed
only a few days in each place. The wives of the herdsmen lived

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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534 A chief wore two beads on each side of his head, but he
782 did not possess a drum and only used one when it was
634 necessary to propitiate some ghost which was troubling him.
[301] A drum was given to him for this special purpose, and he took it to his kraal, where he beat it for the benefit of the ghost.

[644] When saluting the king, the people knelt and clapped their hands.

534 There was always dancing at new moon, which was accom-
[535] panied by singing, by the music of the royal band, and by bells. The musical instruments consisted of drums and the horns of animals through which the musicians blew, while some members of the band had bells on their legs which sounded as they stamped to mark the rhythm.

Adoption

597 A man who had no son might adopt the child of some relative without any ceremony, but, as a man might take as many wives as he wished, it was not often that a husband was left without a son. If a boy who had been adopted committed some misdeed for which he was cast off by his new parents, his own parents would not take him back. He had to find means of atoning for his fault and gaining the forgiveness of his adopted parents.

597 If a man adopted a boy from a clan other than his own,
● 614 he took him to the fireplace, dropped some millet into the fire and said, "This is my own son and when I am dead he will attend to my needs." A woman naturally did not welcome
[578] an adopted son, for he was a standing rebuke to her.

Slaves

567 There were several classes of slaves:

(1) The conquered aborigines of the land who were really free but were regarded by the upper classes as slaves inasmuch as they did menial work for them.

(2) Household slaves. These were mostly women from among the free people who engaged of their own will in this

[Text continues on page 195]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

The *ubwoko* was the largest kin group of the patrilineal type. Its members recognized a traditional bond of common descent in the paternal line, but were definitely unable to trace their

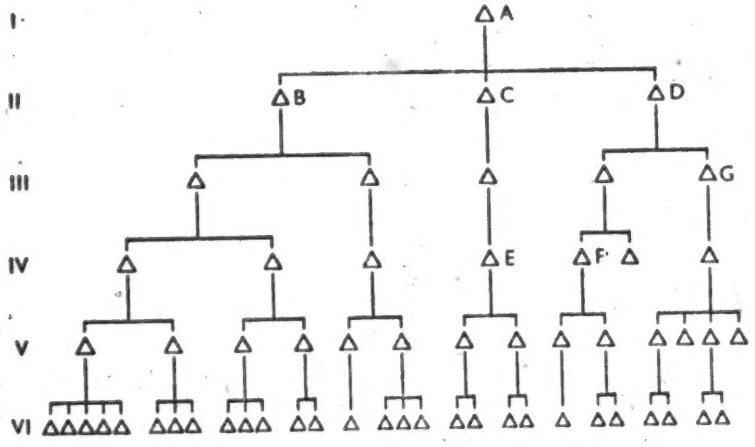

Diagram C.

relationship to the ancestor who was, perhaps, mythical. Two members of the same ubwoko have an idea of a certain kinship tie between them, but nothing more. Ubwoko were geographically dispersed.

There were thirteen such groupings in Ruanda: Abanyiginya (the royal ubwoko), Abega (the ubwoko from which the queens usually came), Abatsoba, Abacyaba, Abasinga, Abatira, Abakono, Abaniakarama, Abazigaba, Abagesera, Ababanda, Abaha, Abashambo. This number was consistent for a very long time. Ubwoko were permanent groups.[6]

Larger in membership than inzu and smaller than ubwoko, a third kinship group called *umulyango* existed in Ruanda. What it was is not quite clear in the mind of most of our informants. This is due, I think, to the fact that umulyango varied considerably in their degree of organization, corporateness, and functions. But also there was some uncertainty in terminology: the same group, say the Abahindiro, has been referred to by our informants sometimes as inzu, and sometimes as umulyango.

[6] See Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 41-45 and 235 f.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Umulyango appears to have been the group of living people who would have belonged to the same inzu if that primitive inzu had not split into new ones. This explains the fluidity of the use of the term. For instance the word 'Abareganshuro' (people of Mureganshuro) has meant first 'the members of the inzu of Mureganshuro'; then, after the splitting of that inzu, 'the members of the umulyango of Mureganshuro'. When an inzu divided into different new ones, the ancestor of the former one became the ancestor of the umulyango. Thus the umulyango link existed between members of different inzu having the same origin.

As may be expected, the strength of these links was quite different at the time of the splitting and a few generations afterwards. This accounts for the fact that in some cases the umulyango appears almost as a corporate group very similar to an inzu, and in other cases as a purely nominal group.

The span of life of an umulyango seems less defined than that of an inzu. It is doubtful, however, whether it was longer. Suppose inzu A splits into B and C and becomes umulyango A. Six generations later inzu B splits into inzu D and E and becomes umulyango B. At that time it is very likely that the primitive ancestor being twelve generations past will not be clearly remembered and that, except for some extraordinary reason, he will be superseded by the ancestor of umulyango B.

Descent groups in Ruanda were thus of two different types A permanent group, the ubwoko which fulfilled the definition of patriclan (if exogamy be excluded from that definition) and two temporary groups, inzu and umulyango, the second being rather the surviving shadow of the first. The latter were both patrilineages. As they were not segments in the same sense as among, e.g. the Nuer, it would be misleading to differentiate them according to the terminology of Evans-Pritchard.[7] We would suggest calling inzu a primary and umulyango a secondary patrilineage in order to convey the idea that the umulyango originated from the inzu and that the inzu's functions were more important for the individual and society at large than those of the umulyango.[8]

[7] Evans-Pritchard, 1940, pp. 192-4.

[8] Members of the inzu were called *bavandimwe* (which primarily means sibling), agnatic relatives, *benewacu* and relatives, affines included, *abacu*.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

When the umulyango had a head (chosen in a similar way to the inzu head), he is said to have had the power to give orders to the heads of the component inzu and to draw up general rules for all the umulyango members. I was told, for instance, that the chief of a certain umulyango had ruled that the members should not marry girls of the ubwoko of the Abacyaba. This prohibition about 150 years old is still observed. When the secondary lineage had a head, he fulfilled very much the same function as an 'appeal court' for all decisions taken within the inzu. Such an umulyango organization existed among Hutu and Tutsi, but seems to have been more common in the important Tutsi lineages.

The patriclan (ubwoko) had no head and no collective activities. It was usually agamous, although there may have been an exogamy rule in one particular clan. An animal species was associated with each clan. Its members were not allowed to kill any of them and were even obliged to protect them. The animal was not thought of as a reincarnation of the ancestor's spirit but probably only as a living symbol of the clan.[14]

Unlike the inzu and the umulyango, any ubwoko could have both Tutsi and Hutu among its members. There was no purely Hutu or purely Tutsi patriclan. When asked if this meant that Tutsi and Hutu of the same clan descended from the same ancestor, Tutsi answered that it did not. They explain it by the relationships which have linked Hutu to Tutsi as clients or servants. After some time the Hutu were identified with the group of their master. Such identification was particularly easy since Tutsi frequently emigrated from one region of Ruanda to another with their Hutu clients and servants. Some Hutu told me that as Gatutsi, Gahutu, and Gatwa (mythical figures who, as their names indicate, were supposed to be ancestors of the three groups) were brothers, it is not impossible that Tutsi and Hutu of one clan could have had the same ancestor. At all events clansmen who were of different socio-'racial' groups did not exhibit any solidarity at all and behaved towards each other as complete strangers.

As has been said, Ego's wife belonged to her own patrilineage for ever. This is why the social role of Ego's wife has not been mentioned in this section. But as she took part in many of the

[14] Some examples of the totemic animals of patriclans are: Abazigaba, the leopard (*ingwe*), Abasinga, the hawk (*sakabaka*), Abega, the frog (*igikeri*), Abagesera, the wagtail (*nyamaswa*), Abacyaba, the hyena (*impyisi*).

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

To provide the central government with regular revenues, to maintain its predominant and privileged situation, and to favour social cohesion, were the functions of the administrative structure. Moreover, as any authority in Ruanda, the land-chief was judge in the disputes concerning rights over land. The cattle-chief, however, had no judicial capacity because disputes about cattle were dealt with by the army-chief.

Impositions and taxes exist in all societies which have a centralized organization of political power. Rulers to maintain their dominant position need to be able to dispose of great revenues. The more centralized a government is, the larger is the amount of goods needed because the administrative officers are numerous.[13]

This political necessity of taxation has been justified differently according to the ideology of each culture.[14] Thus in modern democratic states, taxes are said to be the contribution of each citizen to the maintenance of services used by all members of the community, such as roads open to everybody, a police force which protects property and life against internal dangers, courts and tribunals for those who feel that they have been wronged and want to obtain reparation, an army which protects the community against an external threat, &c.

In Ruanda, tributes in labour and goods to the mwami were justified by the nature of the royal power. Kingship was divine. The first king of Ruanda, Nkuba (which means lightning), lived in heaven with his wife Nyagasani, their two sons Kigwa and Mututsi, and their daughter, Nyampundu. One day the three siblings fell from heaven and settled on a Ruanda hill. There Kigwa married his sister. Their descendents constituted the Abanyiginya clan. Mututsi, Kigwa's brother, married one of his nieces. Their descendents were the Abega. The two royal clans (usually the Abanyiginya married Abega girls) had thus a divine origin.[15] From this godlike nature of the mwami followed the justification of his absolute power and of the sovereignty of his rights over the people, the cattle, and the land of Ruanda. By virtue of that divine sovereignty, the king could require tribute. Because everything and everybody was his, he could confiscate any cattle or agricultural produce, and take the labour or even the life of anybody.

This was the theory. In fact the mwami did not use his prerogatives more than the rulers who were not divine but had the same means

[13] Maquet, 1952. [14] Maquet, 1954c, p. 65. [15] See Pagès, 1933, p. 491.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

traditions were transmitted. But a multiplicity of kinship group agents cannot be entrusted with a function as important for the caste as the socialization of its young members and their training in the qualities and virtues which had permitted their forbears to obtain power. Consequently, in Ruanda some formal institutes of education and instruction were set up. The *intore* companies in which every young man of the Tutsi caste spent several years, fulfilled these functions.

In order to avoid the dogma of the innate superiority of the upper layer being questioned if one of its members had to be cast out because he was unable to live up to the standards of his group, the clientage system acted as an institutionalized means of rescuing such people. It should be mentioned that the rescuer was not losing anything, as the Tutsi saved from social death could give him in return what was mainly expected from any Tutsi client: his attendance and his councils.

The tendency which leads a powerful group to constitute a closed caste, to maintain jealously its advantages, and to try to increase them, cannot be left without something to counterbalance it. Each caste, as Linton says, is a society in itself.[2] If the caste accentuates too much the characteristics which make it a socially complete group, isolated in the society of which it is only one layer, the cohesion of that society may be destroyed. Consequently, powerful factors of cohesion are needed to check the tendency towards social disintegration that exists within any caste structure. I have described solidarity factors already, but they may be summarized here.

First, there are certain groupings in which Tutsi and Hutu were to be found together. Names of the Tutsi and Hutu clans were similar. This suggested a certain solidarity among the bearers of the same clan name, however minimal it was. A comparable kind of Hutu participation existed in the armies. It is possible that the fact of having been commonly associated in dangerous circumstances gave a deeper feeling of unity to Hutu and Tutsi. The Ryangombe sect was open to Hutu and Twa as well as to Tutsi. Ryangombe himself is said to have addressed his invitation to join to every Ruanda, explicitly calling the Tutsi, the Hutu, the Twa, the men and the women.[3] As initiation ritual took place among kinsmen, however, there was no real inter-caste mingling in the

[2] Cf. Linton, 1936, pp. 130 f. [3] De Lacger, 1939, vol. I, p. 257.